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## JANUARY MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, having died since the last meeting,<sup>1</sup> the first Vice-President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, presided. The President's chair, which was not occupied, was appropriately draped. There was a large attendance of members, to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of the late President.

After the reading of the record of the December meeting, and the list of donors to the Library during the last month, Mr. Adams said he had received from the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society a copy of the resolutions passed by that Society on the death of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, together with a memorial address delivered by its President, Gen. James Grant Wilson.

Mr. ADAMS then said : —

For eight years now two names have stood at the head of our roll, — first by seniority, and first by official position. As we all well know, both, bearing those names, had, at the time of death, been of us through more than fifty years, and through forty of those fifty years either one or the other occupied the presiding officer's chair. Of the present members of the Society, one only, our single nonagenarian, Dr. Paige, ever saw as its President any other than Mr. Winthrop or Dr. Ellis. A month ago we paid such tribute as we might to the memory of the former; and to-day we are called upon to perform a similar service to the latter. He then, for what proved to be the last time, filled his accustomed seat.

The names of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis had also so long been first on our roll, standing there, in companionship with that of Dr. Paige, isolated as it were by a gulf of years from those that followed, that their disappearance at once and together causes a feeling almost of forsakenness; it is as if the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. George Edward Ellis, D.D., LL.D., was born in Boston, August 8, 1814, and died in that city, December 20, 1894.

familiar head of the house had been suddenly taken. The seats both at the head and foot of the table are vacant. A barrier which has prescriptively stood between us and seniority, until we have almost grown to think it always had stood there and consequently always must stand there, has suddenly disappeared, causing us to realize that we are in the front rank now, — that it is for us to take the fire next. Unmistakably, also, so far as the Society is concerned, the going of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis — simultaneous and almost dramatic as it was — marks an epoch in its history; for, of necessity, it then passed from the hands of the men of the first half of the century into the hands of the men of its second half. And, in the case of this nineteenth century of ours, that signifies much.

Of the life of Dr. Ellis — his career, if so it may be called — I do not here propose to speak, except in so far as it was interwoven with the Society of which he died at once President and Senior Member. Elected a Resident Member at the meeting of October 28, 1841, presided over by James Savage, then President, Dr. Ellis had already, though but seven-and-twenty years of age, — as was proper and becoming in the minister of a Charlestown church called after John Harvard, — evinced a decided interest in historical research, especially in that connected with the early records of New England. He had, it is true, at that time published nothing; but, three years later, in 1844, his *Life of John Mason* appeared as a contribution to Sparks's American biographies, and, next taking up Anne Hutchinson, he furnished a year later another study to the same series. From the beginning to the end, through the whole fifty-three years of his association with the Society, he was in every sense an active member, constant in attendance at meetings, evincing deep interest in the affairs and business of the organization, familiar with its collections, jealous of its prestige, working on its committees and contributing to its publications. He served on the Standing Committee ten years, at various times between 1852 and 1877, and was Vice-President from 1877 to 1885; he was a member of the Publishing Committee for six volumes in the Fourth and Fifth Series of the Collections; and he wrote for the Proceedings five memoirs of deceased members, including those of Jacob Bigelow and Jared Sparks. It was he, also,

who suggested the course of Lowell Institute Lectures delivered by members of the Society in 1869, and on him devolved the principal burden of carrying out the plan. But his deepest mark on the history and publications of the Society remains to be mentioned,—and it was memorable. It was he, in connection with the late Dr. James Walker, who secured for it the Sewall papers; and, later, though our associate Mr. W. H. Whitmore was the editor, Dr. Ellis served on the committee for passing through the press that *Diary* which stands by far the most important of the Society's publications. No greater or more valuable contribution to New England history has our Society made; it owes it largely to him.

Apart from this, the ten years of Dr. Ellis's presidency have not been marked by any striking changes in methods or administration, nor has there been any peculiar momentum given to the Society in the field of historical activity. It has, on the contrary, moved along under his guidance quietly, respectably, and not inefficiently, on the lines marked down for it under the longer and more active administration of his predecessor, — lines which moreover wholly commended themselves to the judgment of Dr. Ellis, so that from them he saw no occasion to deviate. Furthermore, when chosen to the chair, Dr. Ellis had already passed the limit of threescore and ten, and, as is apt to be the case with men who reach that period of life and find themselves comfortably placed, he was not indisposed to take things as they were and to leave them as he found them; he saw no advantage, as he found no pleasure, in undue activity; while he appreciated to the fullest extent whatever of dignity, not less pleasant because combined with a certain ease, attached to the position which came to him greatly magnified from what it theretofore had been through its long occupation by a man of Mr. Winthrop's striking attributes and supreme personal fitness.

It is a more difficult, because more delicate task on this occasion, with his freshly vacated chair beside me, to refer to Dr. Ellis's mental processes and intellectual make-up, so to speak, including those elements of development and stability which in his case worked out their results in ways not altogether usual. In this respect to me, as also I know to others, Dr. Ellis was ever an object of interesting observation,—some-

thing of a puzzle withal. Though a man of fixed habits both of mind and body, — wedded to his ways and tenacious of his conclusions, — he at times did and said unexpected things, indicating trains of thought or reasons for action which had hardly been suspected in him. He was secretive even in his loquacity.

To account for this satisfactorily, it has seemed to me necessary to go back and look at the environment in which he was born and underwent his development. In the first place a typical New Englander, — tasting unmistakably of the natal soil, — he came of a ministerial family and was destined himself for the ministry. Nor, on the whole, — though, as the result showed, he had no peculiar vocation for it, — do I think he mistook his calling. Undoubtedly, as subsequently appeared, his predilections ran more strongly to certain somewhat limited fields of literature and literary expression than to theology or pastoral duties, but none the less in the earlier and more active period of life the latter were in no way repugnant to him; on the contrary, while connected with his church he exercised great ministerial influence, which would not have been possible had there been in him any natural inaptitude for the work. Yet, when he once resigned the ministerial office and moved his residence to Boston, he not only never again officiated in the pulpit from which he had preached through nearly thirty years, but in his will he, a former Professor in the Divinity School, incorporated the singular restriction that Harvard University, the residuary legatee of his estate, should use none of its proceeds for the Theological Department.

I have said that the deaths of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis mark an epoch in the history of the Society, causing it to pass out of the hands of the men of the first half of the century into those of the men of the latter half of it; and, further, that in the case of the nineteenth century this signified much. Unless I greatly err it also signified much in the life and development of Dr. Ellis; and what it signified was emphasized in his avoidance during his later life of the scene of his professional activity, and in that noticeable provision of his will to which I have just referred.

Marked out in advance for a Congregational clergyman, the life of Dr. Ellis almost spanned the working period of the century; for, coming into the world fourteen years after the cen-

ture began, he passed from it five years before it was to close. Thus he was born during the Mosaic dispensation, and died in the Darwinian ; while he was yet in full manhood, — before he had reached his forty-fifth year, — he saw the English naturalist and observer quietly rise up, and, looking back across more than thirty centuries, confront the Hebrew prophet and law-giver, while he maintained for his thesis that man was an evolution from the ape, and not the immediate creation of Jehovah.

To the extent to which he was affected by the line of thought and research of which this was the most dramatic manifestation, he has himself borne witness in a recent paper<sup>1</sup> in which he says, —

“ All the marvellous development, strides, and triumphs, insuring what we call the steady advances of progress won by positive science in the years of this century, are altogether of secondary moment when viewed in comparison with the ventures of free and bold speculation, and the spirit of inquisitive, critical dealing with subjects that had been jealously reserved as sacred against the intrusions of free thought.”

Dr. Ellis's lot was thus cast in troublous times. Born only five years before Channing delivered his memorable discourse at the ordination of Jared Sparks (May 5, 1819), he identified himself with that outgrowth of Calvinistic Congregationalism which, widely known as New England Unitarianism, was in its most flourishing state during the period of his own pastoral service. During that period also it began to disintegrate, as all really healthy and active-minded associations of men do and must ; and while one portion — the extreme left, as it were — moved forward with Theodore Parker into what was termed a more advanced, and what was certainly a much less conventional, theology and ceremonial, another portion — what might be termed the extreme right — drew back and found what their natures required in the ritual of the more original church. These, however, were merely the two wings of New England Unitarianism ; the great body of it and its ministers quietly adhered to its position, accepting only such modifications of tenet as advancing knowledge brought home to intelligent conviction, together with such changes of dress and ceremonial as commended themselves to the individual.

<sup>1</sup> Retrospect of an Octogenarian : The Atlantic Monthly, vol. lxxiv. p. 452 (October, 1894).

Professionally, Dr. Ellis then found himself in a position which became more and more irksome to him. His literary and antiquarian tastes asserted themselves, and his intellectual activity, his love of reading, his appreciation of new fresh thought in those fields which appealed to him, grew by what it fed on: but he was not an aggressive, combative man; he felt in him no fondness for strife or call to martyrdom; he loved society, consideration, his books, his library, his fireside. At the same time, many of his younger associates in the ministry repelled him. He seemed to notice in them a certain lack of the form, the education, the scholarly courtesy, and the consequent social recognition which were associated in his mind with the contemporaries of Channing, — the golden age of Unitarianism.<sup>1</sup> He could not go forward with Theodore Parker; on the contrary he recoiled from so doing. Much less could he go back with Mr. Huntington; that was wholly foreign to the drift of his thought. He could not remain where he had always been, with his brother Rufus, for whom he had so deep a feeling, for the whole time he was reading, observing, assimilating along his peculiar lines. So, quietly retiring from his pulpit, he, at the age of fifty-five, crossed the bridge to Boston; nor did he ever more recross it.

This has excited comment, and comment not always kindly. But though the form of expressing a feeling either in this incident or in his will may not be altogether happy, yet in the feeling itself I must confess to very considerable sympathy. There is something very human in it. No one conscious of a greater aptitude, if not stronger call, to other pursuits, who has not some day felt free to lay down a profession the following which, having lost its novelty, had become a perfunctory, bread-winning toil, — no one, I say, who has not once in his life done this, has experienced one of the greatest pleasures existence affords. It is emancipation; and to the emancipated the thought of the previous condition of compulsory labor is distasteful. So, delighting in present freedom, drawing long

<sup>1</sup> "He [Dr. James Walker] was of that honored fellowship of Christian scholars and preachers, learned, moderate, didactic, and edifying, in which his associates and compeers were such as Drs. Sparks, Burnap, Gilman, Nichols, Lamson, Noyes, Young, and Frothingham, and one [J. G. Palfrey] honored for various wisdom and virtues as divine and historian, still among the retired scholars at Cambridge." Letter to his Former Parishioners, January 1, 1875: Edes, *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, p. 192.

breaths of relief at the absence of a restraint the burden of which was only realized after its removal, one instinctively shuns what may have been earlier the scene of triumph even. The successful retired lawyer does not as a rule haunt the courts, nor the physician the hospital. They are weary; they crave something else. It was so, I fancy, with Dr. Ellis; but as his existence ran in new channels, and his way of looking at men and the problems of life and eternity changed, his feeling of distaste for much in his active life, which at the time was not otherwise than satisfactory to him, grew more pronounced, and the brightness of his present made the past seem sombre in contrast.

His retirement from active church work at fifty-five was therefore, in the case of Dr. Ellis, a thoroughly wise, well-considered move. The danger is, of course, that a man of middle life taking such a step—giving up his accustomed belongings, his profession, the associates of years, the familiar surroundings, duties and enjoyments—will find the new home very different in reality from what he had pictured in imagination; he will be occupationless, *désœuvré*. With Dr. Ellis it was in no respect so; it was altogether otherwise. He simply threw off a calling which to him had lost its charm and novelty, and bade fair soon to lose its interest, even if it did not resolve itself into a drudgery, and found himself free to devote time and thought amid new and more congenial surroundings—a larger community and a freer social atmosphere—to the pursuits to which his inclination turned. Not only did he seek, but he found, “relief from routine professional labors in congenial studies.”<sup>1</sup> For him, life suddenly expanded at fifty-five; a new world opened. And so, as he himself recently expressed it, “I have found the last quarter of my present term [of years] the Indian Summer of my life.” Though intervals of it, he added, were “clouded and saddened,”—and here he referred doubtless to the loss of his wife and of his only son,—yet he found himself free from professional calls; he appreciated keenly the more frequent intercourse with a few intimate friends of whom he was ever the welcome guest; this Society afforded him an active interest and a lasting occupation, combined at a later day with a certain dignity of position which he thoroughly

<sup>1</sup> Edes, *Harvard Church*, p. 193.



enjoyed ; while, with an ever active pen, he had ample leisure in which to indulge that "intense love and craving for reading" which he declared "the richest resource and solace of age."

Yet in the literary and historical work he so constantly did, the influence of his early training was up to the very end apparent. In process and method he remained a man of the first half of the century ; catching the influence of the second half, he was in thought and expression foreign to it. His style was to the end homiletic ; he discoursed, — even more than this, he discoursed discursively. In effusiveness and the profuse use of adjectives and nouns not greatly differing in signification, his writings suggested the pulpit rather than the press-room ; while the elements of traditional devotion and reverence came out in singular mixture with a freedom of thought and expression partly natural and partly exotic. Though he had an historical turn of mind in the sense that the past, its events, its customs, and its characters, had great attraction for him, Dr. Ellis was in no respect himself an historian ; that is, what is now known as the philosophy of history did not appeal to him. He was rather of the antiquarian type, delighting, with keen insight and a good deal of humor, in the by-ways and nooks and corners of the past, with their forgotten usages and yet human interests, their gossip and their individuality. At an earlier time he might himself have written Sewall's diary ; now he was exactly the man to edit it in its entirety.

And so the years slipped away. With perfect physical health and undimmed eyes, he passed through his seventh and eighth decennaries ; in due time the degree of Doctor of Laws succeeded to that of Doctor of Divinity ; he became President of this Society ; and at last the inevitable end drew near. He had passed his eightieth year. That is a perilous time ; dangerous for all, but especially for one wifeless, childless, and dependent on servants' care. One by one his old friends had dropped away. Finally Mr. Winthrop died. Dr. Ellis came here and paid his tribute to him. Nothing more remained. But the good fortune of that Indian Summer held to the end ; and at last, one day in early December, after going his usual rounds among his places of familiar daily resort, he returned at dusk, with no premonitory signs of the great impending

event, and in an instant sank down in his own library among his dearly loved books, the companions of his life ; and the end, unheralded, had come.

I remember, one evening some years ago, talking with William Boott, a very polished gentleman of somewhat old-fashioned type, and withal a man who will not be forgotten by the few still remaining who once knew him well. He was an old man then, himself quietly awaiting the end. As we sat and talked before the fire in the December twilight of his solitary room, — for he had no family, — we got speaking of the ways in which men go, and especially of sudden death. As the flickering flame lit up his face, Mr. Boott quietly smiled as he told me this anecdote of Col. Thomas Handasyd Perkins, one of the last of Boston's great public-spirited merchants in the days when Boston boasted of having merchants. Colonel Perkins died more than forty years ago, so the incident must have occurred while Mr. Boott was still a comparatively young man. It was at Saratoga, or some other resort where they chanced to be together, and Mr. Boott one day received the news of the sudden death, much like that of Dr. Ellis, of some contemporary and life-long friend of Colonel Perkins. He at once told him of it. The old man for an instant seemed to look out with a far-away depth in his eye ; then, glancing up, he said, turning to his companion, " William, do you know, it makes my mouth water ! "

There are no words of deeper significance in our English tongue than those in which Hamlet, referring to the end, says to Horatio : " If it be now, 't is not to come ; if it be not to come, it will be now ; if it be not now, yet it will come : the readiness is all. " Dr. Ellis was ready. Snatched suddenly from great peril, after life's fitful fever he sleeps well ; nothing can touch him further.

Rev. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM, having been called on, spoke in substance as follows : —

I can hardly venture to speak of Dr. Ellis because so much of merely personal feeling must enter into what I say. He was my friend, faithful, generous, patient, and indulgent. When I was born, in 1822, his mother, who lived close by, sent this little boy, then between eight and nine years old, to my mother with a basket of fruit. For many years when I was

away I did not see him ; but when I came to Boston in 1881, the old friendship was renewed ; and when I became his near neighbor about eight years ago, an intimacy sprang up between us which was very valuable to me. Scarcely a week passed when I did not sit an hour with him in his library, and very often he came to see me. At one time, when I was looking up an obscure point in relation to early New England history, I had twenty volumes of his on my table at once, and in the course of years he must have loaned me more than one hundred volumes ; and he asked me if I did n't want any more, — an unusual thing for a literary man to do.

In regard to his connection with this Society, the older members of it know more than I do. He was fully acquainted with its history, very proud of its membership, and quite conscious of the dignity it implied. His inferiority to Mr. Winthrop, his predecessor in the presidential chair, was freely admitted. That Mr. Winthrop excelled him in grace, felicity, eloquence, abundance of resource, he never hesitated to confess ; but nobody surpassed him in the love he bore to the Society. He always spoke to me of its meetings, the papers read, the subjects discussed, the members present, and said to me more than once that he never voted against anybody whom the Council approved. He may not have voted at all ; but he never voted against anybody proposed.

The only other Society that he ever spoke of to me in terms of high eulogy was the American Antiquarian Society. Over forty years, he has said, he attended meetings of this company, dined with them, and spoke most joyously of the meetings, the weather, the men, the essays. He was really more of an antiquarian than an historian. He was not an historian of the grand style by any means, but rather a chronicler, dealing in dates and figures and statistics. How such a man ever happened to become a clergyman was always a study to me. A clergyman is by nature an idealist, and Dr. Ellis was none. He had little love of art ; never spoke of pictures, or sculptors, or poetry, or works of fiction. Music had no charms for him. Only once did I hear him quote poetry ; then he recited a passage from Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream," and quoted it wrong. His earliest works in history were written while he was a minister in Charlestown, in 1844-45-47, and his historical interests dated

long before that; but it must be remembered that Unitarianism at that time was dogmatic, controversial, expository, and he left the ministry when the new departure began. Why he never renewed his connection with his old friends, why he never even went to Charlestown after having left it, remains a mystery. Perhaps the position of his church, the death of his old friends, the dispersion of his ancient congregation, the removal of a great many of his old parishioners, the death of his young wife, the loss of elegance in that part of the town, may have influenced him. We cannot tell. My own impression is, from words spoken incidentally, that gradually he lost his interest in the faith that he once professed; his reliance on the theological method had ceased, and its results were distasteful to him; the old creed had become a sentiment that hung round his mind like a kind of haze. In this connection there was always to me something touching in the motto of his book-plate, *ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους*, "Now I know in part," as if there was another world of which he knew nothing.

He lived in the past. He was not a sanguine man, — not hopeful, expectant, exuberant, forward looking. I never heard him speak of any reform, — temperance, pauperism, crime, prison discipline, the future of woman, — of any improvement in society. It was not exhilarating to hear him talk of the future in state or church. He would sit in his chair and call around him the spirits of the wise, gracious, good people whom he had known, and in their companionship feel happy.

His love of books was really remarkable; they were living beings to him. There is a little story — the truth of which I will not vouch for, but it ought to be true — that one evening, not feeling well, and presuming, as notional people are apt to, that he was going to take to his bed and never get up, he went round and said good-by to his favorite authors, and then went upstairs. In the morning he rose as well as ever, and said "Good morning" to his old friends.

His industry was very extraordinary. He was always at work. He has told me more than once that in midwinter he was at his desk at half-past six o'clock. A part of his correspondence he did before breakfast; afterward he wrote and read till twelve o'clock; then he went down town, came back, read again until dinner-time at half-past two, after which he took a little nap, read an hour or so, went out to walk, and

returned at about half-past five. Then he passed his evening at home, reading and writing. Every day it was the same; he was a man of routine, a minute-man. He never in his last years went out in the evening, had but few intimate friends, and lived alone.

His death was exactly what he desired. The day before he died, he was talking with me as usual, in my parlor. The next day, at half-past one, he was in the "Christian Register" office on Franklin Street. He came back and dined as usual, took his constitutional walk, came home a little after five, pulled off his boots, put on his slippers, read his "Transcript," and prepared for a quiet evening. When the servant, at a little after six, came to tell him that his tea was ready, she found him on the floor, unconscious, and he never woke again.

His last words outside of his house were spoken to a little school-girl.

The Recording Secretary then read the following remarks by the senior member, Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, who was reluctantly absent, owing to the infirmities of age:—

Mr. Vice-President,—The year 1894 was one of the most eventful years in the history of this Society. At our meeting in May, it was announced that "the Historical Society has the remarkable distinction of having on its roll of living members the names of three gentlemen whose connection with the Society began at least half a century ago." Such an event had never before occurred, and it was of short continuance; the year had not ended before two of the three veterans deceased,—one in the common course of nature, after much suffering, and the other suddenly and unexpectedly, as if by a bolt of lightning from a clear sky. In consequence of their departure, the Society now has not a single living President or Past President; and such a lack has not previously existed since its organization more than a hundred years ago.

Of all the eminent men who have heretofore presided over this Society, the last survivors who have so recently departed are worthy of our special regard. At our last meeting, commemoration was had of Mr. Winthrop's character, and of his services during the thirty years of his Presidency and the ten succeeding years. No one who then listened to the tender

and eulogistic tribute to his memory by Dr. Ellis had a premonition that the next meeting would be devoted to a similar recognition of his own character and services.

My share in this memorial exercise will be very brief, partly in consequence of my own inability, and partly that I may not encroach on the opportunity of others. My relations were less intimate with Dr. Ellis than with Mr. Winthrop; but they were so intimate and so pleasant that he held a high place on the roll of my friends, and his death is lamented as a personal loss. I not only esteemed him as a friend, but highly regarded him as an historical student, writer, and authority. When he succeeded Mr. Winthrop in the Presidency, he assumed a difficult task, and I confess that I had some fear that his own reputation might suffer loss. But my fears were soon dissipated; he succeeded beyond my expectation, and fully demonstrated his fitness for the position which he occupied. And I venture to say that no member of this Society regrets his election, or believes that, on the whole, any other would have rendered more acceptable service. For the courteous and dignified manner in which for nearly ten years he has presided at our meetings, for his historical contributions from time to time, and for the final proof of his earnest regard for the welfare of this Society, manifested by his magnificent pecuniary legacy, he is abundantly entitled to our respectful, affectionate, and grateful remembrance.

The Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY said: —

Mr. President, — To the great admiration in which I held the learning of Dr. Ellis was united also an almost unique deference, due only to those who spoke of the past and of the actors of the past, not from hearsay, but from knowledge. Not that the eighty years of his life permitted him to go farther back than that time in actual observation; but with so keen a memory, with such a power of expression, and with such opportunities of meeting the best minds of his time, his taste, which instinctively reverted to the past and its actors, led him to investigate and study colonial epochs particularly, and the actors of those periods. Few men, perhaps no other, had so many authenticated anecdotes of the men of early New England history, and certainly a small number possessed a better acquaintance with the history itself. As a critic of

colonial character and history, Dr. Ellis occupied a most prominent place.

But I come to-day, sir, not to bring to your notice striking and distinguishing qualities that other associates more constantly thrown with Dr. Ellis could better define, but to express the deep sense of loss felt by the American Antiquarian Society, of which our lamented President had been an honored member for forty-seven years, and was at the time of his death its oldest member by date of admission, and its Secretary for Domestic Correspondence. The interest of Dr. Ellis in the objects of that Society, his constant presence at stated meetings, his participation in discussions, and his frequent contributions to their proceedings, make their sense of gratitude for his life and services, and sorrow for the death of their learned and faithful associate most sincere and profound. The Council of the American Antiquarian Society have already taken action expressive of their sentiments.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE said : —

It was impossible to attend, even for an hour, at a meeting of this Society, without observing the close interest which our President gave even to the nicest detail of the history of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts. While in his literary career he had made himself known through the world of English letters, he was always proud of Boston, and glad that he was born here. His father's residence was in Summer Street, and the family were members of the New South Church, which then still stood on what was very early called "Church Green." Of this church our learned associate, Dr. Alexander Young, was the minister from 1825 to 1854, and I have always supposed that in Dr. Ellis's life we had many of the traditions which came down from a boy's conversation with one who was so learned as Dr. Young was in the details of our history. Mr. Ellis determined, I do not know how early, to prepare for the Christian ministry. After graduating at Harvard College in the year 1833, he passed through the Divinity School at Cambridge, which he left in the year 1836. I am old enough to remember that even as a young man entering on our profession, his advent was welcomed joyfully by older men. In a long absence of Dr. Gannett from the Federal Street Church, Mr. Ellis, then not yet ordained,

supplied his pulpit ; and immediately after Dr. James Walker removed from Charlestown to Cambridge, to take the duties of the Alford Professorship there, Mr. Ellis was chosen by that congregation to be Dr. Walker's successor. He was ordained there on the 11th day of March, 1840. In ministry to the Harvard Church he remained for nearly thirty years, winning for himself the regard of the congregation in all the various grades of society which are happily combined together in one of our New England churches. It is pathetic and interesting to see how tenderly and cordially he is remembered by aged people, as one who gave, perhaps, a direction to early study, as one who encouraged people who needed encouragement, and, indeed, as fulfilling in a hundred ways the various duties which can be assumed by a minister. Alas, they do not often fall upon men so many-sided as he was, or who have his ingenuity and courage in entering upon various paths.

Dr. Ellis himself was fond of telling a story which shows his resolute character in young life. Before he was ordained, he made a long visit in Europe. While he was in Rome, he was presented to the Pope of that period, Gregory XVI. I suppose that in the ordinary course of such presentation, the visitors pass rapidly on, and have not opportunity for much conversation with the head of the Catholic Church. On this occasion, however, Pope Gregory addressed him personally, saying that he was glad to meet any one from America ; that he had the most pleasant associations with the United States in all its history excepting in one point. The young American was by no means abashed at this suggestion. "I said to the Pope that I supposed he referred to the destruction of the Catholic convent at Charlestown. I said that I could perhaps inform him of some of the circumstances of that event which had not been conveyed to him before." With this introduction the young stranger proceeded to explain to the Pope such palliation or excuse as might be given for what is unfortunately, however palliated or excused, a very sad incident in our history. The anecdote, none the less, shows the audacity of youth, and his determination, which he always showed in life, that Boston and Charlestown should not bear heavier blame than they deserved.

Another anecdote of the same time may be read in the privacy of this company. The Rev. Charles Lowell, our former



associate, was at that time spending the spring in Rome. "I went to see Dr. Lowell, because I had my letters from Boston, and his had not come. When he asked me the news, I told him that my brother Rufus had the first part at Commencement, and was to deliver the English oration. I told him that his son James had been chosen poet by the class, but that he would not be able to deliver the poem, because he had been suspended and sent to Concord, where he must remain until Commencement Day. The old gentleman said, with a sigh, 'Oh dear, James promised me he would quit poetry and go to work!'" When we remember, after fifty years, how much the world has gained because Mr. James Lowell did not, in going to work, quit writing poetry, we are glad that all boyish resolutions are not fulfilled to the letter.

From the time when Mr. Ellis first appeared in our Unitarian pulpit, the clearness of his statements and his energy of expression made him regarded as one of the most distinguished preachers in our communion. One of our own associates has called him, not unfairly, "pre-eminent in the Unitarian denomination." He addressed himself to topics of great importance with that unflinching courage to which I have alluded. His services were in demand for various public occasions, and the bibliography which shows his work in such service is in itself a valuable illustration of the industry and energy of the man. In 1857 a policy was inaugurated at Cambridge, which has been maintained from that time to this, by which gentlemen at work in the daily duties of the ministry attend on the Divinity School as non-resident lecturers. It seemed quite of course that when the Divinity School took this new departure Dr. Ellis should be appointed as Professor of Systematic Theology. He delivered his inaugural address, on assuming this trust, on the 14th of July, 1857. "Already engrossed in time and heart," he says, "with exacting duties in another place, I find myself assuming one of the most serious, if not the most serious and responsible of all tasks of instruction in this ancient and beloved University. Not till I had sat down to the preparation of this inaugural address did I fully realize to what a weighty obligation I had committed myself." He was unfailing in the diligence of his attendance to the duties so seriously assumed, and lectured at Cambridge as professor on this appointment for the next six years.

In 1858 he delivered the Convention Sermon, as it is called, the appointment to which is made by the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts of both the Orthodox and Liberal communions. His subject was "The Reaction of a Revival upon Religion." In the winter of 1860 he delivered a course of lectures before his own people on Christian Doctrine, which excited such general interest that they were printed from time to time as the course went on, and form an interesting and valuable series. Our Librarian will be able to present to us a more complete bibliography than I can attempt of the sermons and lectures and orations which he delivered in the course of the thirty years of his ministry at Charlestown. I find on the printed catalogue of the Boston Public Library no less than thirty-four of these sermons as they were printed at the time.

Nor did he neglect, in such work, which was always seriously and thoroughly carried through, that other range of studies which shows itself in the publication of books which go into permanent literature. When, in 1849, it was announced that Dr. George Putnam, the eminent preacher of Roxbury, and his younger associate in the ministry, Rev. George E. Ellis, of Charlestown, had assumed the editorial charge of the "Christian Examiner," the announcement was received with great pleasure among literary men and theologians of every color in this community. Those of us who remember both these distinguished men will understand how happily they divided between them the duties of a trust so important. In the fortunes of the "Examiner" I was myself a sub-editor in after years; I have therefore inherited the regular journal which Dr. Ellis kept, showing the detail of the work given to each number in his administration. He was an editor from No. 154, the number of July, 1849, until No. 192, the number for November, 1855,—a period of more than six years. In that time, by far the larger part of what were called the "Literary Notices" and of the "Intelligence" in each number was supplied by his pen. I observe, for instance, of the November number of 1850, his memorandum is, "All the Notices by George E. Ellis." In March, 1851, "Notice of Whipple's Essays, by C. C. Smith; the other Notices and Intelligence are by George E. Ellis." The range of subjects thus treated is very wide, and the diligence and

skill with which he goes over such a field are extraordinary. Of the principal articles in the same time he contributes one or two in every volume, and there is not a volume which does not show the energy which he gave to the duty he had in charge. I am certainly justified in saying that there was no other scholarly man in this region at that time who could have undertaken, with such credit to himself, a duty ranging so wide and so far.

It was in conducting this editorial work that he had begun in regular series in the "Examiner" seven papers, which were afterwards collected under the title, "A Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy." In 1857 he brought these together in a book, which has been accepted ever since as a standard book on the subject. It has been welcomed by students of every phase of opinion, and has been credited with a degree of fairness, as well as of diligent scholarship, which lift it wholly from the grade of controversial literature.

Even while Mr. Ellis was engaged in such work as this he made time to study and prepare for Dr. Sparks's second series the Lives of John Mason, of Anne Hutchinson, and of William Penn. I do not speak of the detail of this work, because it falls to another gentleman to refer to his work as a student of history. I refer to them to show the constancy and diligence of his life during all the period of his ministry.

In 1869 he resigned his active ministry at Charlestown, I think, from a determination he had formed quite early in life, that thirty years round off a man's professional work, and that it is wise to leave the varying duties of the ministry to younger men. This determination was received with great regret by the members of his own parish. It has, however, given him the time to devote to such duties as those which have been so valuable to this Society, and, indeed, in fifty other ways to connect himself with the public life of the city. On removing to Boston he at once connected himself, though as a layman, with the First Church. Of this church his distinguished brother, Dr. Rufus Ellis, was then the minister,—a man whose services to this city, and indeed to mankind, cannot be overstated. The loss of such a man from public service was profoundly felt at the time of his death, and will be regretted as long as any of his contemporaries survive. Dr. George Ellis's connection with the First Church has

given to us the valuable Introduction to its history, which was published a few years ago.

He did not decline duties which were connected with his earlier professional career, and although he left Charlestown for the new home which he established in Boston twenty-five years ago, I am speaking to many persons who have heard him preach when from time to time his services were called upon. This is hardly the place for an attempt to analyze the methods or the spirit which always made his preaching attractive. Perhaps it is enough to say that he despised careless or shabby work everywhere, and that he would have been as severe a critic of his own work as any one could be. To this conscientious determination to do well whatever was to be done, we owe his striking success in the profession of his early days, and we owe the value of the contributions so various which he has made to our literature and history.

It is the misfortune of this Society that an unwritten statute prevented us from placing upon our roll the name of the younger brother with that of the elder. In this case the result of the tradition was singularly unfortunate. The presence of Dr. Rufus Ellis in our meetings and councils would otherwise have been almost of course. The lineal descendant in the life of Boston of John Cotton and John Norton and Charles Chauncy, not to speak of others, he would have represented here that church whose history is so closely allied from the beginning with the history of Massachusetts.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE spoke in substance as follows :

The first wish which presents itself on this occasion to one who would fain do justice to its subject, is for his own aid and presence, — for the fresh and copious store of memories ; the recollections not dimmed by time or dulled by use ; the human interest in the men and the events which he had known, touched with a kindly and humorous recognition of human peculiarities in those with whom he lived ; the wide and unequalled, full and accurate knowledge of that ecclesiastical, domestic, and social life and history of New England which he had shared and studied. For all this, we must wish in vain. “None but himself can be his parallel.”

A light of history, of learning and knowledge, of the Past and Present, went out of the world when George Ellis died. How much and how many men and things he knew, and knew as no one else could know them!

Not many years ago, when the list of the slumbering dead at Mt. Auburn had reached to some 40,000, he said that half of that number he knew personally, or through their kindred, families, or associations, including perhaps that eminent lady who is recorded there, in disregard of her permanent position, as "the first *tenant* of Mt. Auburn."

His friend, Henry H. Edes, whose valued services may be properly acknowledged in this connection, has preserved, in an excellent monograph of some eleven octavo pages, published in 1879, a list revised by Dr. Ellis himself of his publications and more important contributions to periodical literature to that time. As our associate, Dr. Charles Deane, said, "The men who write memoirs or lives of Dr. Walker and Dr. Ellis must go for their facts to Mr. Edes's History of Harvard Church."

Since that date, for fifteen vigorous years, Dr. Ellis's pen — as no one knows better than you — has not been idle or unfruitful; and I may add that the men who write the history of Boston, Massachusetts, or New England, of their religious and intellectual development, must go for guidance and aid to Dr. Ellis.

Born in 1814, Dr. Ellis graduated in 1833 at Harvard College with Francis Bowen, Abiel Abbott Livermore, Joseph Lovering, Henry Warren Torrey, and Jeffries Wyman, and at the Divinity School in 1836 with Theodore Parker, John Sullivan Dwight, and his college classmate Livermore. The Harvard Book of Dignities records his titles of Bachelor and Master, Doctor of Divinity and of Laws, — so far as I know, still one of the four men who hold both these honors, — Professor of Theology, Fellow of the American Academy, and our President.

His tender and affectionate relation with Greatheart Parker, the champion of the free church militant, is pleasantly shown in a notice published by Dr. Ellis in 1892, where he says of Parker, "There never lived a man of a kindlier soul, nor of a more loving heart than he." Parker, in his journal of January 2, 1840, says: "—— called me 'impious,'

whereat I was so grieved, that I left him, not in anger, but in sorrow, and went weeping through the street; but at length bethought me of Ellis, and went to see him, and so dried my tears." I cannot say that this was his classmate; but the feeling the one expresses would naturally have been returned by the other, and it was less than four years after their graduation.

The warm appreciative tributes already paid to our associate have shown his hold on the public estimation, acquired by long years of public knowledge and service as well as of private friendship.

In Dr. Ellis's will, chiefly from his own pen, dated October 15, 1887, he says: "After my interment in my lot at the Cemetery at Mt. Auburn, I enjoin that my name and year of birth and death be cut, without titles, on the rear of the monument." But there is one title the memory of which I am sure he would wish we should preserve in our thoughts if not on stone,—that of President of this Society, which he loved, and with which he desired that his home for nearly a quarter of a century should be associated; whose members he addressed as "My esteemed associates and friends," declaring that his "single purpose" in his gifts to them is "to contribute to the welfare, prosperity, and useful resources of an honored fellowship, in association with which for now nearly half a century I have found much good."

Your remarks, Mr. President, in regard to the allusion in his will to the Theological School, and the inferences you seem to draw from his words, in connection with your language as to his relation to his parish in Charlestown and to his religious views, invite and justify a more extended reference on my part to these subjects than might otherwise have seemed advisable. It is true that in disposing of the residue of his estate for the benefit of Harvard College, he prohibits its use for the Divinity School or for the Theological department of the University, but it is not true that he did not appreciate the dignity of those studies. In 1852 he initiated a movement for a legal separation of the School from the College. A Committee of the Overseers, of which he was chairman, reported —

"That they have conferred with the Corporation, and are happy to be able to say in the outset, that, while the members of the Committee

perfectly accord among themselves in their views of the subject committed to them, they also found those views to be in harmony with the opinions and wishes of the honored gentlemen who, as President and Fellows of the College, are the more immediate guardians of its interests."

They also say : —

" Amid the conscientious differences and the sensitive jealousies which attend upon our sectarian divisions, the connection between the Theological School and College has been, as your Committee believe, actually prejudicial to both, — has impeded the success of the former, and brought into question the impartiality of the administration of the latter. . . .

" Your Committee are thus brought to the conclusion, that a separation of the Theological School from the College would be highly beneficial, and would tend to promote the prosperity of both."

And the President and Fellows state —

" That from the experience of thirty-five years since the foundation of the Theological School for the education of candidates for the ministry, as a separate department in the University, and from the opinions generally now prevalent, so far as they are informed, among the friends of both Institutions, they are convinced that such a union is alike detrimental to the peculiar interests of the College, and unfavorable to the promotion of the objects for which the School was established ; and that the welfare of both requires a separation, if one be practicable consistently with their respective legal rights and duties."

Dr. Ellis says, in an article upon a " Non-Sectarian Theological School," in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for December, 1893: " As to theological instruction, there is no direction or branch of education which in materials and interest equals the studies which are affiliated with theology and religion."

It is true, I presume, that after he left his parish he did not visit his former parishioners ; but it is also true that in a letter from him to them read at the Memorial Service to his predecessor, Dr. James Walker, he wrote : —

" When, at the close of my peaceful and pleasant ministry of more than twenty-nine years among you, I changed my residence and sought relief from routine professional labors in congenial studies, I thought I should occasionally renew my always agreeable intercourse with you, if not in the pulpit, yet by coursing your familiar streets to see you in your homes.

"The sharp bereavements which in little more than one year took from me in rapid succession all those the dearest to me in life, who had made with me a household and a family, leaving me no one with whom I could recall the experiences of the inner home, induced me to seek a seclusion in which it would have been more than painful to me to have revisited scenes so associated with former companionships and joys. I have not considered or regretted this yielding to what, if it be a weakness, must be indulged to me, as it involves no neglect of duty to you, but is only a private feeling of my own. It is from scenes, not from persons, that I keep away."

It may be true that he expressed to others a feeling which his own language, in a sermon published in the "Christian Register" for March 17, 1892, has preserved for us:—

"Whoever in these days offers to men and women, on any religious theme or truth, a stunted, puerile, or contracted creed, or a forced or morbid adaptation of piety to the mere traditionalisms of faith and reverence, sadly limits the free and bracing atmosphere of devotion which fills the whole infinite reaches of space around us and above us."

I cannot say myself what he said which your inference or information characterized as Agnostic. There are Agnostics and Agnostics. If he was such a half Agnostic as good old Richard Baxter when he wrote,

"My knowledge of that life is small,  
The eye of faith is dim,"

and triumphantly added,

"But 't is enough that Christ knows all,  
And I shall be with him,"

he may be pardoned. We are all Agnostics, "for we see through a glass darkly," and "now I know in part."

I have more than once begged Dr. Ellis to preserve the store of reminiscences which his long life had left in his memory. He was ready and exuberant in conversation, and an hour with him was instructive as well as entertaining; but perhaps he felt that it was not fitting to compress into typographical coldness and rigidity the lively characteristics and anecdotes which he as well as his listeners so much enjoyed. It seems fortunate, and in the days when he began to preach it might have been called providential, that but within a short



time before his death he should have given us the "Retrospect of an Octogenarian."

It was pleasant to have him avow that "I have found the last quarter of my present term the Indian Summer of my life," and that "not melancholy to me, as so many report it to be to them, are the retrospections of a lengthened life. Vastly predominant over its sadnesses and disappointments have been its multiplied and varied satisfactions. I have been privileged, personally, professionally, and socially, with the favored fellowship of the wise and the excellent, the distinguished and the honored, of this century. In twilight reveries, alone by my winter's hearth, I musingly recall them as they pass illumined in shadowy outlines. . . . Nor does any one appear in that shadowy procession whom I am not glad to see"; while his closing words seemed an unconscious prophecy: "I . . . am waiting to see — what comes next."

At the conclusion of Mr. Hale's remarks, Rev. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM was appointed to write a memoir of Dr. ELLIS for publication in the Proceedings.

The presiding officer then said :—

We seem at this time to be passing through a Golgotha, — a veritable valley of the dark shadow. In November the name of Dr. Holmes disappeared from our list of living members, and when, a month ago, I had occasion to join in the tribute paid by the Society to Mr. Winthrop, I made allusion to two members of the Society still of us, — Dr. Ellis, who then occupied the chair, and Judge Hoar, the last of the great Concord triumvirate, still living, but not again to occupy here his accustomed seat.

Dr. Ellis has since then gone over to the silent majority ; and yesterday I received from Judge Hoar, through his son, a letter and parcel for immediate transmittal to the Society. The letter, written by another at his dictation and signed by him in characters only too plainly indicative of the close impending event, will now be read by the Secretary. It explains itself.

The letter was read as follows :—

CONCORD, Jan. 5, 1895.

To the Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

DEAR SIR, — I desire through you to present to the Massachusetts Historical Society a gold locket containing a lock of hair taken from the

head of the murdered President, Abraham Lincoln, on the evening of his assassination by Booth. It was given me about the year 1871 by Capt. Geo. D. Wise, a graduate of West Point, who was mustered out of the U. S. Volunteer Service as Brevet Brigadier General Oct. 1, 1867, and whose daughter had recently married my eldest son. General Wise told me that he was in Washington on the evening of the assassination, and that one of the medical men attending on the President took the lock of hair from Lincoln's head and gave it to him. He said he was an intimate friend, and told me the name of this physician, which I do not feel quite sure that I remember, but my impression is that it was Dr. Robert K. Stone. General Wise said he had the lock of hair divided, and set in two separate lockets. The one which he gave to me has been in my possession ever since. I do not think he told me what he did with the other. His brother Capt. Henry Wise, U. S. N., was the son-in-law of Governor Everett of Massachusetts. Perhaps our associate Dr. Wm. Everett, the brother-in-law of Captain Wise, may have some information on the subject. It does not seem to me that so interesting a relic, commemorative of such an historical event, should be intrusted permanently to the possession of private parties, but should rather be held by some public historical institution, or other public body, where it may gratify the interested curiosity of that great number of people "who are touched by identicals."

If the Society will accept the relic for its cabinet, I am admonished that my purpose cannot be too speedily executed by me.

Very respectfully yours,

EBENEZER R. HOAR.

Mr. ADAMS then added : —

Whatever action the Society is to take in response to this letter must be taken at once, if it is to reach in this world him from whom the relic accompanying it came. It is with him now not a question of days, but of hours. The dying flame just flickers. A form of vote has accordingly been prepared, which the Secretary will now read : —

*Voted*, That the Society accept with gratitude the precious historical relic placed in its keeping by its honored associate, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and that the Keeper of the Cabinet be instructed to place it, together with the letter accompanying the gift, conspicuously among the similar treasures in his charge.

*Voted*, That the presiding officer and Secretary be instructed forthwith to transmit to our associate a copy of the foregoing

vote, together with the thanks of the Society for intrusting to its charge an object of such great and ever increasing veneration and interest.

*Voted*, That the members of the Society desire further to express the deep sympathy they, as a body and individually, have felt for their associate in his prolonged illness; their appreciation of the patience and cheerful courage with which he has encountered and overcome the trials which attended it; together with their deep and abiding sense of the irreparable loss they sustain by his absence from his accustomed place at their meetings. *Ave et Vale.*

On motion of Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE, the resolutions were unanimously adopted, the members all rising from their seats.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said that he wished to call the attention of the members to a photographic group of Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Lunt, and Dr. Ellis, which was taken more than fifty years ago, when they were sent as delegates to the semi-centennial celebration of the New York Historical Society, on November 20, 1854. The photograph belonged to Mr. Winthrop; and since the last meeting it has been given by his son to the Society, and now hangs in a prominent place in these rooms.

Dr. Green communicated a paper on Michael Wigglesworth and the Day of Doom, and presented, in behalf of Mr. William P. Upham, a memoir of the late Henry Wheatland, M.D., which Mr. Upham had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings. Dr. Green's paper is as follows:—

Michael Wigglesworth, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1651, was the earliest alumnus of that institution to achieve in his own day distinction as a poet. There were earlier graduates who indulged at times in versification, but their attempts were confined to elegies, and short poems on minor occasions, and were not considered of literary importance. A few years after leaving college Wigglesworth wrote a poem of some pretension, first published in 1662, which had for that period a wide circulation among the Puritans of New England. It is entitled: "The Day of Doom; or a Poetical Description of the Great and Last Judgment. With a Short Discourse about Eternity"; and, on the poet's own statement

as authority, the first edition of 1,800 copies was sold within a year of its publication. It is a grim production, belching forth hideous and repulsive doctrines; and Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in his "History of American Literature" (II. 27), calls it a "blazing and sulphurous poem." Mr. Sibley, in his *Harvard Graduates* (I. 272), says: "This work represented the theology of the day, and for a century, with the exception perhaps of the Bible, was more popular throughout New England than any other that can be named. It passed through several editions in book-form, besides being printed on broadsides and hawked about the country. As late as the early part of the present century many persons could repeat the whole or large portions of it." While Wigglesworth was earnest and honest in his convictions, the notes of his song were harsh and discordant, but at that early period they satisfied the spiritual needs of devout worshippers.

The poem has passed through many editions both in this country and England, and was reprinted in New York as late as the year 1867, showing that even in our time, there is a certain demand for the book, though perhaps rather as a literary curiosity than for its religious consolation.

Without doubt the first edition was printed in Cambridge, and probably the fourth also; but the second and third may have been published in London, as editions appeared there anonymously in 1666 and 1673. In the following notes, for the sake of convenience only, I shall refer to these several editions, and shall assume that they were the only ones printed before 1701; but this assumption on my part may be wrong. The statement has been made that no copy of any of the first three editions is now extant; but this is probably true only as it relates to American imprints. There are copies of the third edition (London, 1673) in the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library, the Carter-Brown Library, Providence, and the Lenox Library, New York; and Mr. Sumner Hollingsworth, of Boston, also has a copy among his fine collection of rare books connected with early New England history. In the Addenda to his "Ante-Revolutionary Publications," found in the *Archæologia Americana* (Vol. VI.) of the American Antiquarian Society, Mr. Haven gives Cambridge, 1683, as the place and date of the fourth edition, but I fail to find his authority for the statement.

Perhaps it was an advertisement at the end of a book or pamphlet, or an allusion to the poem in some contemporary manuscript. Undoubtedly he had good reason for the assertion. The Boston edition of 1701 is called on the titlepage the Fifth, which might mean the Fifth generally, or the Fifth American. There is some reason to suppose that there were four Cambridge editions before 1701, though unfortunately no complete copies of any of them are now to be found; and perhaps the two London issues of 1666 and 1673 were unauthorized, and not counted by the New-England printer in the series of numbered editions. If this supposition be correct, the question would shape itself thus:—

First edition,	Cambridge,	1662		
Second “	“	1666,	reprinted, London,	1666
Third “	“	167—,	“	1673
Fourth “	“	1683		
Fifth “	“	1701		

As neither of these London editions has marginal notes, both may have been reprinted from the first Cambridge edition, which is supposed to have been also without notes.

During a recent visit to New York, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library in that city, called my attention to the fact that a title of the second edition of the Day of Doom is given in the printed catalogue of books in the British Museum, where it appears anonymously under the letter “D,” and not under the name of the author. There is also a copy of the third edition in the same library entered in a similar way; and there are titles of two later editions given under “Wigglesworth.” As the second edition of this interesting work is unknown, even in a fragmentary way, to bibliographers in this country, I here give a collation, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Richard Garnett, Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum:—

The | Day of Doom; | or | a Description | of the Great and Last |  
Judgment. | With | a Short Discourse | about | Eternity. || London |  
Printed by J. G. for P. C. 1666.

Collation: Titlepage; i-ii. A Prayer unto Christ . . . ; 1-72,  
The Day of Doom; 73-79, A Short Discourse about Eternity;  
80-91, A Postscript . . . ; 92-95, A Song of Emptiness . . .

Copy in the British Museum, c. 57. a. 21.

There is in the library of the Historical Society an imperfect copy of the Day of Doom, which unfortunately lacks the title-page and the three following leaves. It is bound up with some pamphlets in a volume which was given by Robert F. Wallcut, on November 23, 1837. This copy of the poem is certainly a specimen of very early printing, and came probably from the press of Samuel Green at Cambridge, as similar border pieces were used by that printer in "The Book of the General Lavves and Libertyes" (1660), Eliot's New Testament, translated into the Indian Language (1661), and his Bible (1663), John Cotton's "Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation" (1663), and John Norton's "Three Choice and Profitable Sermons" (1664). Different arrangements of the same ornamentation are to be found in other books of Green's printing during a period of many subsequent years. Probably this imperfect copy belongs to one of the missing Cambridge editions. The Scriptural references in the margin, for the most part, are fewer than they are in the fifth and later editions which contain the same references though slightly amplified. A collation of the copy is as follows:—

Titlepage, *verso* blank; (6 pp.), "To the Christian Reader," signed "Michael Wigglesworth"; (2 pp.), "On the following Work and It's Author," signed "J. Mitchel"; (2 pp.), "A Prayer Vnto Christ the Jvdge of the World"; 1-75, "The Day of Doom," page 65 numbered "51," and catch-word at bottom of page 75 "On"; (76), blank; 77-84, "A Short Discourse on Eternity"; 85-94, "A Postscript unto the Reader," page 92 printed "62"; 95-98, "A Song of Emptiness to fill up the Empty Pages following. Vanity of Vanities," page 98 numbered "78."

A fragment of four lines from the address "To the Christian Reader" happens to have on the back the printed name of Michael Wigglesworth, which seems to show that this edition, though perhaps published anonymously, had the author's name appended to the address immediately following the titlepage.

In Mr. Hollingsworth's collection is a copy of the fifth edition of the poem, from which nearly three years ago I made a collation of the volume. It is as follows:—

The Day of | Doom: | or, | a Poetical Description of | the Great  
and Last | Judgment. | With | a Short Discourse about | Eternity. | By

Michael Wigglesworth Teacher of the | Church at Malden in N. E.  
| The Fifth Edition, enlarged with | Scripture and Marginal Notes. |  
[Three lines from Acts xvii. 31, and five lines from Matthew xxiv.  
30.] || Boston: Printed by B. Green and J. Allen | for Benjamin  
Eliot, at his Shop under the | West End of the Town House. 1701.

Titlepage, *verso* blank ; (6 pp.), "To the Christian Reader," signed  
"Michael Wigglesworth" ; (2 pp.), "On the following Work and Its  
Author," signed "J. Mitchel" ; (2 pp.), "A Prayer unto Christ the  
Judge of the World" ; 1-57, "The Day of Doom" ; 57-62, "A Short  
Discourse on Eternity" ; 63-75, "A Postscript unto the Reader" ;  
76-80, "A Song of Emptiness, to fill up the Empty Pages following.  
Vanity of Vanities."

In the library of the New-England Historic Genealogical  
Society is a fragment of the Day of Doom, which Mr. John  
Ward Dean, the Librarian, and other experts think once  
belonged to a copy of the first edition. Judging from the  
font of type and from certain ornamented initial letters and  
border pieces, the book was printed probably by Samuel  
Green at Cambridge. It has neither notes nor Scriptural  
references in the margin, and in this respect resembles the  
London editions of 1666 and 1673, which in these remarks  
have been called the second and third. The following is a  
collation, made under many difficulties, as the copy is very  
imperfect, lacking pages both at the beginning and the end.  
Perhaps one half of the book is gone, and the description,  
taken in part from the stubs of leaves, may be subject to  
error.

Titlepage, *verso* blank ; (2 pp.), "A Prayer unto Christ the Judge  
of the World" ; (6 or 7 pp.), "To the Christian Reader," by Michael  
Wigglesworth ; (2 pp.). "On the following Work and its Author," by  
J. Mitchel ; (1 p.), blank ; 1-65, "The Day of Doom" ; (66), "A Short  
Discourse about Eternity," — a page given to the title ; 67-73, "On  
Eternity" ; 74-83, "A Postscript unto the Reader" ; 83-86, "A  
Song of Emptiness . . ."

In the opinion of Mr. Dean, who has given much attention  
to Wigglesworth, and has written a memoir of him, the first  
edition of the poem did not have the marginal notes. He  
infers this from a statement by the author which is found in  
one of his manuscript note-books, now in the possession of  
the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, as follows:  
"About 4 years after they were reprinted w<sup>th</sup> my consent, &

I gave them the proofs & Margin. notes to affix." Perhaps these marginal notes were prepared for another Cambridge edition, of which no copy or fragment is known now to be extant, unless perchance the imperfect copy of the Historical Society should prove to be such.

Since the year 1701, there have been numerous editions of the work published, but the scope of the present paper does not include them for description.

Chief-Justice Sewall, in his Diary, under date of August 14, 1688, makes an entry in which he mentions giving to a kinsman a copy of the Day of Doom, perhaps at that time a recent publication. If this was so, it may have been one of the missing fourth edition, though I lay no stress on the probability.

The following advertisement, found at the end of an Election Sermon (Cambridge, 1670), preached at New Plimouth, June 1, 1669, by Thomas Walley, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Barnstable, gives the year of publication of another of Wigglesworth's famous productions, about which there has been some diversity of statement: —

There is now going to the Press sundry excellent and divine Poems, entituled, *Meat out of the Eater*; or, *Meditations concerning the Necessity, End, and Vsefulness of Afflictions unto Gods Children*; All tending to prepare them for, and comfort them under the Cross. By *Michael Wigglesworth*.

This advertisement does not appear in the first edition of the pamphlet, printed in the year 1669, but is found in the second, published in 1670. There are copies of both these editions in the possession of the Historical Society, but hitherto in the catalogue of the Library by an oversight they have not been recognized as distinct or separate issues. The first is not given in Mr. Haven's list of "Ante-Revolutionary Publications." These two pamphlets were struck off from the same press at Cambridge; and with few exceptions the second was printed line for line from the first, and with the same catch-words at the bottom of the pages. One exception is found near the top of page 5, where the abbreviated form "Doct." is inserted at the beginning of the lines in italics, thereby changing their justification; and another instance occurs in paragraph numbered "3," on the same page,



where there is a similar change in the justification of several lines, caused by the use of italics and by wider spacing between the words. In a few other places the types vary either in their fonts or in the use of capitals and italics: *e. g.*, "o" in "to" in the headline, on page 3; the "J" in the italicized names "Jerusalem," "Josiah," and "Jer.," on the same page; and the capitals in "Pride" and "Self-love" on page 9, line 7.

The Historical Society has a note-book, kept by Wigglesworth during the years 1652-1657, which is similar to four other manuscript books by him, now in the possession of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, and evidently once belonging to the same set. This note-book consists largely of personal memoranda, and contains many entries in short-hand. Our associate, Mr. William P. Upham, an expert in such matters, to whom I have often been indebted for the rendering of similar entries, has again come to my help in this instance, and writes me as follows in regard to the passages:—

They are written with the characters of the System of Thomas Shelton, 1641. (See Upham's Brief History of Stenography, Salem, 1877.) No historical matter of importance is found in them. They appear to consist wholly of the pastor's own penitential reflections, and "relations" (statements of religious experience) made by other persons.

Mr. Sibley had the use of these five volumes when he prepared an account of the Puritan minister which appears in his Harvard Graduates (I. 259-286), and he describes them in some detail at the end of his sketch.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Dean and Mr. Eames for valuable aid in the preparation of this paper.

A new serial comprising the record of the meetings for October, November, and December, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

## M E M O I R

OF

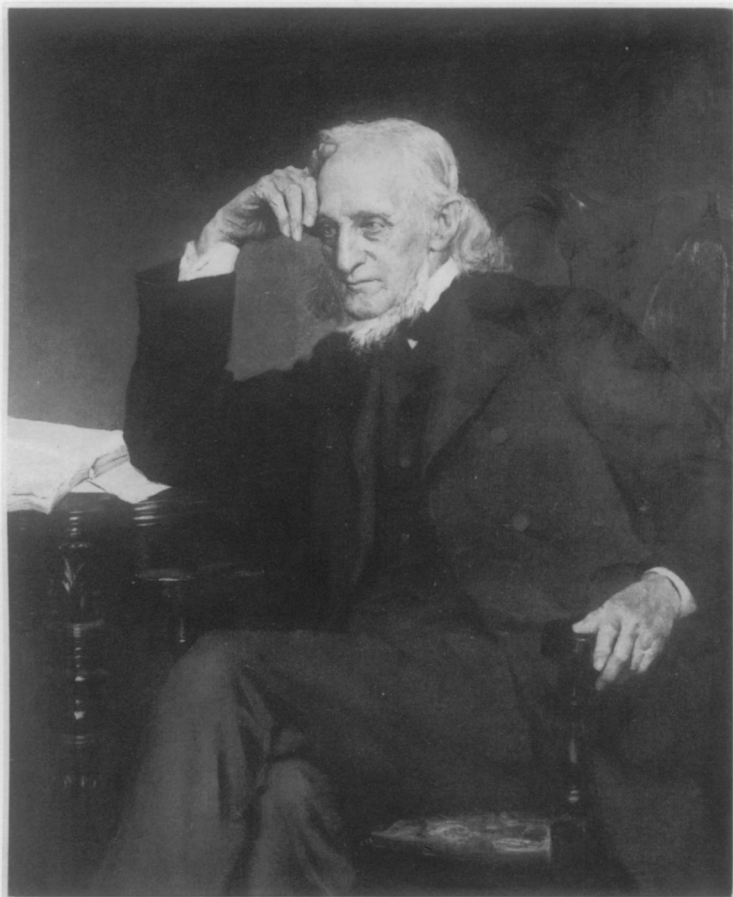
HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D.

BY WILLIAM P. UPHAM.

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AMONG the historical and scientific societies which have done so much to bring honor and credit to our country, one of the most useful and widely known to those interested in such pursuits is the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts. This institution, formed in 1848 by a union of two societies previously existing, has for its object the collection of material and the diffusion of knowledge relating to history, science, and the arts.

With but very slender resources in the way of permanent funds, and depending almost wholly upon the immediate sympathy and interest of the community in which it exists and upon the gratuitous services of its officers, it has built up a library of over sixty thousand volumes and one hundred and seventy-five thousand unbound volumes and pamphlets. It has published twenty-nine volumes of "Historical Collections" and twenty-eight volumes containing, beside the records of its meetings, many scientific memoirs of recognized value. It has held innumerable "field meetings" and horticultural and art exhibitions, and in conjunction with an allied society, the Peabody Academy of Science, has gathered in its cabinets a vast amount of material admirably arranged for the study of science, history, and ethnology, and forming a collection which is open to the public and is examined and studied by many thousands of visitors, annually, from all parts of the country and indeed of the civilized world. Its influence has spread among the people of Essex County, to whose interest it is specially devoted, a taste for enlightened pursuits which gives character to the whole region.



Henry Wheatton

The principal organizer and promoter of this institution, who gave to its objects the whole of his life without stint and without any personal remuneration, and who was for many years its honored presiding officer, was our late associate, Dr. Henry Wheatland.

The full and elaborate memorial addresses which were delivered by members of the Essex Institute at a special meeting soon after his death, and which have been published by that Society, render almost superfluous any extended memoir here. It is well, however, to place upon the records of this Society a sufficient recognition of the life of one of its members who in another field did so much to spread abroad an intelligent interest in historical matters, and whose career as the patient upbuilder of a most valuable sister institution is so remarkable.

I hope to be able to add to a brief summary of the tributes already paid to the character of the man some particulars of his life and of his family, together with certain reminiscences with which I have been favored by friends who knew him intimately. If space allowed, extracts from his correspondence and papers would illustrate his early and constant interest in matters in any way relating to his favorite pursuits, and would show the confidence placed by all investigators, in whatever branch of science, history, or genealogy, in his readiness to impart freely from the great fund of information which he had accumulated. While he leaves no special treatise or published work to connect his memory with any particular study, the number of those who remember with gratitude his incidental aid in their chosen pursuits, or his wholesome influence stimulating their enthusiasm for intelligent observation or criticism, may be counted by thousands, and includes many persons then or since of world-wide reputation.

Henry Wheatland, whose best memoir is thus to be found not only in the institution whose present high standing and success is, practically, the result of his life work, but also in the veneration entertained for his memory by all those who have ever co-operated with him, was born at Salem, Mass., Jan. 11, 1812, being the youngest of the six children of Richard and Martha (Goodhue) Wheatland. For the following account of the family of Richard Wheatland I am indebted almost wholly to a statement given me by Miss Caroline E. Bemis, of Salem, his granddaughter, supplemented

by some autograph memoranda which I find among Dr. Wheatland's papers.

Richard Wheatland was born at Wareham, Dorset County, England, Oct. 20, 1762. His parents were Peter Wheatland, who died in 1784, aged 75 years, and Bridget (Foxcroft) Wheatland, who died in 1817, aged 84 years. They were married about the year 1752, and had seven sons, John, George, Stephen, Peter, Richard, Robert, and a second John, and three daughters, Bridget, Margaret, and Anne.

Richard, in early life, went to London to learn the trade of a leather-dresser, which he soon abandoned for the sea. Having served three years in the British Navy, being stationed principally in the West Indies, he was discharged at the close of the war. In 1783 he came to Salem, and sailed from that port as sailor, officer, and commander of a merchant-vessel in the India trade. In 1801 he retired from the seas, and resided in Salem as a merchant until his decease, March 18, 1830. He married, first, Margaret Silver, who died June 13, 1789, leaving no child. He married, secondly, in 1796, Martha Goodhue, daughter of Stephen and Martha (Prescott) Goodhue, of Salem.<sup>1</sup> They had six children, namely:—

1. Stephen, born at Salem, Aug. 5, 1796, graduated H. C. 1816, died at sea Feb. 19, 1818, from a fall on board ship "Perseverance" on his second voyage, being unmarried. Dr. Wheatland states that by tradition he was very fond of music, "was a favorite and very popular with his companions. It seems as if the music of the family centred in him."

2. Richard Goodhue, born at Salem, Feb. 10, 1799, H. C. 1818. He was interested throughout his life in commercial pursuits either as owner or commander of vessels. "In 1837, having lost his ship (the 'Boston') on the Bahamas, he returned home with impaired health and was confined to his chamber for five years." He died at Salem, Feb. 6, 1842. He married, Feb. 23, 1823, Mary Bemis Richardson, daughter of John and Anna (Bemis) Richardson, of Newton, Mass. She was born Feb. 17, 1795, and died at Newton, Dec. 31, 1834, leaving two children, Stephen Goodhue and Richard Henry.

3. Benjamin, born at Salem, May 27, 1801, H. C. 1819, studied law in the office of the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem "practised law for some years in Salem, then removed to New

<sup>1</sup> For additional particulars see the Goodhue Genealogy and Prescott Memorial.

Market, N. H., where he resided as agent of the manufacturing company in that town for about twenty years. Having been chosen treasurer of the same company, he returned to Salem, and continued in this position until a few months preceding his decease, which occurred Dec. 28, 1854." He married, April 9, 1827, Mary Eddy Bemis, daughter of Luke and Hannah (Eddy) Bemis, of Watertown, Mass., born July 4, 1801, died at Salem, June 23, 1864. They left one daughter, Martha Goodhue Wheatland, born March 12, 1828, died June 6, 1885.

After Benjamin Wheatland's return to Salem, he interested himself in municipal affairs. He held various official positions, among others that of President of the Common Council.

4. George, born at Salem, Nov. 10, 1804, H. C. 1824. He also studied law in the office of the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall. In early life he was active in politics, and was always characterized by an earnest, independent, and liberal expression of opinion and by good judgment. "To his intimate friends he was known as eminent in his charity, cordial in his friendships, and helpful to all around him. . . . As a lawyer Mr. Wheatland ranked high in the Essex Bar, and perhaps no one was more frequently consulted than he was by young lawyers who needed sound advice and safe counsels."<sup>1</sup> He held several positions in the City Council, and was a member of both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature. He married, Feb. 6, 1833, Hannah Bemis Richardson, daughter of John and his second wife, Hannah (Bemis) Richardson, of Newton, Mass., born Dec. 23, 1811, died at Salem, March 15, 1840. George Wheatland died at Salem, Feb. 20, 1893, leaving one child, George Wheatland, of Boston.

5. Martha, born May 29, 1807, married, Sept. 18, 1827, Robert Eddy Bemis, son of Luke and Hannah (Eddy) Bemis, of Watertown, born June 4, 1798, died at Chicopee, Mass., March 15, 1873. Martha died at Chicopee, Dec. 26, 1872, leaving one son, Robert Wheatland Bemis, and four daughters, Caroline E. Bemis, of Salem, Mrs. Mary W. Whitney, wife of Henry M. Whitney, of North Andover, Mrs. Sarah D. Fiske, of Malden, and Mrs. Martha G. Smith, of North Andover.

6. Henry (the subject of this memoir), born Jan. 11, 1812, H. C. 1832, married, Feb. 3, 1858, Mary Catherine Mack,

<sup>1</sup> Salem Observer, March 4, 1893.

daughter of Elisha and Catherine Sewall (Orne) Mack, of Salem, who was born Sept. 25, 1816, and died in Salem, Feb. 13, 1862. They had no children. Henry died Feb. 27, 1893.

It will be noticed that all the five brothers graduated from Harvard College.

The high character of Dr. Wheatland's family, both on his father's and on his mother's side, had no doubt much to do in forming those excellent qualities so early and so constantly apparent in his life. Through his mother he was descended from Rev. Francis Higginson, the first minister in Salem, and was related to Prescott, the historian, and to the distinguished descendants of the Hon. Roger Sherman, William M. Evarts, and the brothers Judge E. R. Hoar and Senator George F. Hoar.

The ancestry of Richard, the father of Henry, has not been traced beyond his father, Peter Wheatland, of Wareham, England. Dr. Wheatland, in a letter to John W. Dean, April 15, 1885, speaking of his family and that of Stephen Wheatland, of Winchester, England, says: "Possibly there may exist some connection between the families, but at present it is only conjectural."

Little is known as to the particulars of the life of Richard Wheatland prior to his coming to Salem in 1784, other than that he had honorably served in the British Navy. During his residence in Salem of nearly half a century, he acquired the esteem of the community, and attached himself to his friends by many excellent traits of character. In a notice of his death, which happened by an accidental fall while on an errand of charity, the "Salem Gazette," of March 19, 1830, says of him: "For many years he was an active and enterprising merchant, and was universally esteemed as a public-spirited citizen and a most kind and benevolent man."

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to reprint in full an account which I find in the "Salem Gazette" of March 5, 1799, of a naval battle between the ship "Perseverance," commanded by Capt. Richard Wheatland, and a French vessel of war. While presenting a vivid picture of the fierce encounters to which American shipping was then exposed, it shows the resolute character of Captain Wheatland. His success in the affair was perhaps largely due to his experience in the British Navy. The matter-of-course though "polite" way in which

his ship was overhauled on the high seas by a British frigate, and his papers examined, is an interesting bit of history.

### A SEA FIGHT

Gallantly and victoriously maintained by the ship *Perseverance*, Capt. Richard Wheatland, of this port, against one of the vessels of war of the "*Terrible Republic*." The French rascals, contrary to the laws of war & of honour, fought under false colours, whilst the Eagle, true to his charge, spread his wings on the American flag. —

The following is Captain Wheatland's Letter to his Owners.

Ship *Perseverance*, Old Straits of  
Bahama, Jan. 1, 1799.

GENTLEMEN, — Conceiving we may possibly meet an opportunity of forwarding this immediately on our arrival at the Havana, or perhaps before, induces me to give an account of our voyage thus far.

Until 26th. Dec. met nothing very material, except heavy disagreeable weather, off the coast; and having the wind so far to the Westward as to preclude the possibility of making our passage round the Bank, were compelled contrary to our wishes to go through the Old Streights of Bahama. On the afternoon of the 27th. were boarded by the British frigate *Romilla*, Capt. Rolles, our papers examined, and we treated with great politeness. They purchased (at our own prices) a number of articles from the cargo and of the people. Three days before they had captured a French privateer sloop, of 10 guns and 60 men, and retook an American brig, her prize. After two hours detention, we were permitted to proceed, which we did, without meeting any interruption, till Monday, 31st. December — for particulars of that day we give an extract from a journal kept on board.

Dec. 31st. Key Romain in sight, bearing South, distance 4 or 5 leagues — A schooner has been in chase of us since 8 o'clock, and has every appearance of a privateer. At 1 o'clock, P. M., finding the schooner come up with us very fast, took in steering sails, fore and aft, and royals; at half past 1 about ship and stood for her; she immediately tacked and made sail from us; we fired a gun to leeward, and hoisted the American ensign at our mizen peak; she hoisted a Spanish jack at main topmast head, and continued to run from us. Finding she outsailed us greatly, and wishing to get through the narrows in the Old Streights, at 2 o'clock P. M. we again about ship and kept on our course. The sch'r immediately wore, fired a gun to leeward, and kept after, under a great press of sail. At half past 2 she again fired a gun to leeward; but perceiving ourselves in the narrows above mentioned we kept on, to get through them if possible before she came up with us, which we effected.



At 3 o'clock, finding ourselves fairly clear of Sugar Key and Key Laboas, we took in steering sails, wore ship, hauled up our courses, piped all hands to quarters, and prepared for action.

The sch'r immediately took in sail, struck the Spanish jack, hoisted an English union flag, and passed under our lee at considerable distance. We wore ship, she did the same, and passed each other within half musket. A fellow hailed us in broken English, and ordered the boat hoisted out, and the Captain to come on board with his papers, which he refused: he again ordered our boat out, and enforced his orders with a menace, that in case of refusal he would *sink* us!!! using at the same time the vilest and most infamous language it is possible to conceive of. By this time he had fallen considerably astern of us: he wore and came up on our starboard quarter, giving us a broadside as he passed our stern, but fired so exceedingly wild that he did us very little injury, while our stern chasers gave him a noble dose of round shot and langrage. We hauled the ship to wind, and as he passed us poured a whole broadside into him with great success. Sailing faster than we, he ranged considerably ahead, tacked and again passed, giving us a broadside and a furious discharge of musketry, which they kept up incessantly till the latter part of the engagement: his musket balls reached us in every direction; but his large shot either fell short or went considerably over us: while our guns, loaded with round shot and square bars of iron six inches long, were plied so briskly and directed with so good judgment, that before he got out of our reach we had cut his mainsail and foretopsail all to rags, and cleared his decks so effectually that when he bore away from us there were scarcely 10 men to be seen. He then struck his English and hoisted the flag of the "*Terrible Republic*," and made off with all the sail she could carry much disappointed no doubt at not being able to give us a *fraternal embrace*. The wind being light, and knowing he would outsail us, added to a solicitude to complete our voyage, prevented our pursuing him: Indeed we had sufficient to gratify our revenge for his temerity; for there was scarcely a single fire from our guns but what spread entirely over his hull — The action, which lasted an hour and twenty minutes, we conceived ended well; for exclusive of preserving the property entrusted to our care, we feel a confidence we have rid the world of some infamous pests of society. — We were within musket shot the whole time of the engagement and were so fortunate as to receive but very trifling injury; not a person on board met the slightest harm. Our sails were a little torn, and one of the quarter deck guns dismounted. The privateer was a schooner of 80 or 90 tons, copper bottom, and fought five or six guns on a side.

We are now within 48 hours sail of Havana, where we expect to arrive in safety: indeed we have no fear of any privateers preventing us, unless *greatly* superior in force.

The 4 quarter deck guns will require new carriages ; one of them was entirely dismounted.

We remain with esteem, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,

RICHARD WHEATLAND.

Capt. Wheatland, in a letter from the Havana, adds —

“The *Gentleman* we brushed in the Old Straits, 3 days after captured a brig from Charleston, and detained the Captain 16 days on board, and then gave him the boat and set the crew adrift. The Captain has since arrived here and informs us that the privateer was a schooner of 8 six pounders and 50 men ; that a number of her people were dangerously wounded ; that she had four round shot through her bottom, a bar iron through her counter, and four feet water in her hold, when she got away ; that her sails were cut entirely to pieces, and the boat on her deck was shattered by our discharge of our bar iron. The villain fought under English colours. In fact they capture under English and American flags altogether. It is impossible to discriminate ; and every armed vessel that approaches us (under whatever colours), if we can manage her, shall be fired into. The master of the privateer observed to the Captain, while he was detained on board, that his men were armed 30 of them with pistols and a short dagger each, and were prepared and determined to board the ship, but our booms and boarding nettings deterred him. The rascals run up along side American ships, under English colours, and jump on board, and capture the vessel before they are sensible of it. He had no idea we should dare fire into a vessel with English union hoisted.”

The gallantry of young Mr. Ingersoll, on board the *Perseverance*, we are well assured, contributed greatly to second the determined bravery of Captain Wheatland in defending the ship. Indeed, the whole ship's company deserve well of their Owners and of their Country.

The story of Dr. Wheatland's earliest years may be briefly told. Of a rather delicate constitution, but possessing great tenacity of purpose and power of endurance, and surrounded by many refining influences, he seems from the first to have developed those studious habits which always characterized him.

Mr. Robert Stone, of Salem, writes me, March 18, 1893, in answer to an inquiry as to Dr. Wheatland's school days, that he remembers him as a schoolfellow in 1822 or 1823 at Mr. Walsh's school, and that they ever after remained good friends. Mr. Stone says: “I do not see that there was any

change in him from the time of our schoolboy days. He was always pleasant and genial, and always had my regard and respect."

Having received a good preparation, especially in the classical studies and in mathematics, at the grammar schools in Salem, then conducted by able instructors, Henry Wheatland entered Harvard College in 1828, at the age of sixteen, together with a remarkably large number of boys from the same town. In Felt's list of Salem graduates from Harvard the following thirteen are named for 1832, the largest number on the list for any one year: Haley Forrester Barstow, Charles Timothy Brooks, George William Cleveland, William Fabens, William Prescott Gibbs, Charles Grafton Page, Jonathan Archer Ropes, John Boardman Silsbee, William Silsbee, John Henry Silsbee, Augustus Story, William Henry West, Henry Wheatland.

In a letter which I have received from the venerable Charles W. Palfray, editor of the "Salem Register" for fifty-five years, he says:—

It seems to me I must have known Dr. Wheatland from the start; but, probably, I first became acquainted with him the year before he entered College, when he was a pupil in our old Latin Grammar School and I in our old English High School, both in the same building on Broad Street. We were in College together one year, he in his last and I in my first year, and we roomed in the same building (Stoughton).

I regret that I can recall almost nothing of the school-days of Dr. Wheatland. But it may be worth noting that among his classmates, both at the Latin School and in College, was Charles G. Page, who afterwards became such an eminent scientist. I enclose a slip cut from the Register of Sept. 29, '92, containing some of my reminiscences of Dr. Page; and if you can find in it the least hint that you can make available, you are perfectly welcome to do so.

I remember the Mr. Walsh spoken of by Mr. Stone. He was John Walsh, bachelor, lawyer, and instructor of youth, a graduate of Harvard, class of 1814, and was born in Salisbury, Mass., July 21, 1794, and died in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 3, 1845. He was a Deacon in our First Church in 1829. His father, Michael Walsh, came to this country from Ireland in 1783, and died in Amesbury in 1840. The father, Michael, was quite celebrated as a mathematician, and was the author of the famous Walsh's Arithmetic which was used in nearly all our schools in the first third of this century.

Yrs. very truly,

CHAS. W. PALFRAY.

Some extracts from the "Reminiscences of Dr. Page" may be appropriately introduced here as indicating the intelligent character of Dr. Wheatland's earliest companions, and as an example of the many happy influences which developed in him such a supreme love of scientific research, and such ready affiliation with all those in any way devoted to exact inquiry:—

"And just here, as we recall the past, in a fragmentary way, it recurs to us that about this time,<sup>1</sup> often, during a thunder-storm, a small, stubbed-built, dark-complexioned, rollicking, Latin School boy, fifteen years of age, might be seen on the top of the schoolhouse, equipped with needles and other implements, experimenting with the lightning! That boy afterward became the eminent expert and authority in electricity and electro-magnetism, the late Dr. Charles Grafton Page. He entered Harvard College the next year, graduating in due course, and subsequently received the degree of M.D. at the Medical School."

After mentioning the important positions which Dr. Page filled, among others that of Examiner at the Patent Office, his inventions towards the use of electricity as a motive power, etc., and his valuable publications, Mr. Palfray goes on to say:—

"Nor must we forget to add that, even before he left Salem, we think it was, he foresaw and predicted the practicability of the telephone. And as a graceful and appropriate tribute to his memory, Prof. A. Graham Bell, its inventor, gave the first public exhibition and practical test of the Telephone in Dr. Page's native city, when, on the evening of Feb. 12, 1877, he delivered a lecture on the subject in our Lyceum Hall, before the Essex Institute, and a report of it was transmitted to Boston, and published in the 'Globe' the next morning."

As to Dr. Wheatland's life in college, it is said that "he did not take kindly to the College curriculum, but preferred to follow the bent of his own inclination toward science, natural history, and kindred studies; and, upon informing the President of the University of his utter distaste for the regular course, he was allowed to pursue his own way."<sup>2</sup>

Among Dr. Wheatland's papers I find, in his own handwriting, the "Preamble" and "Constitution" of "The Harvard Linnean of 1832," with an account of the first meeting,

<sup>1</sup> In 1827, when the English High School was established at Salem.

<sup>2</sup> Salem Register, March 2, 1893.

at which were present Abbott, Adams 1st, Adams 2d, Glover, Howe, Mason, Nelson, Richardson, Silsbee 2d, Soule, Story, and Wheatland; Bethune, Page, and Russell were also named as "expected." Adams 1st was chosen President, Nelson Vice-President, and Wheatland Corresponding Secretary. The object of the Society is stated to be "mutual assistance in the collection and formation of cabinets of minerals and insects, herbaria of flowers, &c., by the transmission from one member to another of rare specimens in Mineralogy, Entomology, Botany, &c."

I do not find any further account of this Society,<sup>1</sup> but it shows that even then Dr. Wheatland had the same tendency towards organized work and co-operation in these pursuits which afterwards produced such permanent and valuable results.

After graduating from college, in 1832, he seems to have hesitated somewhat as to what course to pursue; partly on account of his own health, which was never robust, and partly on account of special opportunities and temptations towards foreign travel which presented themselves at that time. He, however, became a student of medicine under the distinguished surgeon, Dr. Abel L. Pierson, of Salem, spending his winters in Boston attending medical lectures; and, in 1837, received his degree of M.D. from the Medical School. It is probable that his only object in taking this course was to perfect himself in that branch of knowledge that he might the better carry out the purpose, which was almost a passion with him, of gathering up and arranging in a useful collection material for every kind of scientific research. He does not appear to have actually practised his profession at any time. He had already become an active worker in the Essex Historical Society and in the Essex County Natural History Society, the two societies from which the Essex Institute was afterwards formed, and his whole life from that time was devoted to the objects which those institutions represented.

Residing always in Salem, from which, indeed, after his graduation from college, he was never away except in the line of his chosen pursuits, as gathering specimens on foreign voyages, or attending meetings of scientific or historical asso-

<sup>1</sup> It was only five years later, in 1837, that the Harvard Natural History Society was formed, which has since become a flourishing institution.

ciations, he was for more than half a century known to a constantly increasing number of persons interested in science or history, as a reliable friend, guide, instructor, or co-worker.

He appears from his earliest youth to have always exhibited that happy love of nature and enthusiasm for research, that utterly unselfish devotion of all his energies to the accumulation, arrangement, and preservation of material, which eminently fitted him to take advantage of the culture already existing in and about Salem to carry out what became the great object of his life; namely, the establishment upon a sure foundation of an institution which should be unrestricted in scope, and which should constitute a permanent centre of influence for the enlightenment and instruction of the community.

So entirely was his whole being absorbed in this generous impulse and purpose, it seemed to give to his presence a remarkably serene and venerable aspect. All who came in contact with him paid him the tribute of respect, even though some might be inclined to ridicule such devotion to the gathering together of objects to them apparently of no practical value.

It was one of the triumphs of his later years that while formerly many, if not most, looked with indifference or slight regard upon the work to which he and a few fellow-enthusiasts were devoted, now there was a universal interest taken, and the institution, which patient and untiring labor had brought from a weak beginning to a sound and permanent life, was looked upon with pride, as one of the chief ornaments of the city, and an honor to the whole county. The Essex Institute, with the Peabody Academy of Science, was in constant activity, holding friendly correspondence with many persons and institutions in all parts of the country, and carrying on regular and profitable exchanges with foreign societies.

It was while thus enjoying the happy results of an accomplished purpose that he was suddenly stricken with paralysis, almost completely cutting him off from all power of communication with the outer world; and so he lingered some years till his death. But even then retaining his faculties of mind, though able only with the greatest difficulty to express his thought, he still kept alive his interest in the Institute. Every day he was visited by the officers of the Society, which, in

deep attachment, refused to recognize any other head, and as well as he could he gave his directions and his advice.

His countenance never lost that aspect of strangely attractive gentleness and wise repose which had ever characterized it. He seemed always venerable, yet always in a manner youthful. Such was his modesty and self-exclusion, it was only after long and earnest solicitation that he could be induced to have his portrait taken. It was fortunate for the Essex Institute that, through the efforts of his nephew, Mr. George Wheatland, he finally yielded, since it now possesses a most admirable likeness by Vinton,<sup>1</sup> to be without which would deprive it of one of its most essential elements of charm to visitors as well as to members.

Those who had always known Dr. Wheatland often remarked that they could not remember his appearance as ever much differing from that of his latest years, aside from the whitening of the hair and the somewhat decreased elasticity of movement inseparable from old age. At more than three-score and ten he seemed hardly older in expression of countenance and in general demeanor than in those first days when he was ever intent upon his beloved pursuits, ever ready to lead or join in the "rambles" in search of rare specimens of natural history, or visits to the hidden nooks where the first wild-flowers were known to show themselves, in dredging expeditions, or again in the patient work of properly preparing and cataloguing the accumulated store of material.

At the memorial meeting, already referred to, our associate, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., in his address as Vice-President of the Essex Institute, describing him as the founder of that Society, says : —

"The invariable reserve and quiet with which he pursued his labors for the good of mankind through two generations attended him to the close of his peaceful life of more than eighty-one years. . . . Nothing that he gathered in his mind, or had in store in the library and cabinets of the Society, was ever withheld from the needy inquirer. In the organization of the Institute it was his choice that no barriers of age or sex should limit the enjoyment of its privileges."

<sup>1</sup> Frederic P. Vinton, of Boston. The heliotype which accompanies this memoir is from Vinton's portrait.

At the same meeting Prof. Edward S. Morse, the present Director of the Peabody Academy of Science, gave a highly interesting account of the personal appearance and manner of Dr. Wheatland, stating that —

“his profile bore a marked resemblance to that of Dante, as pictured by Scheffer. This resemblance has been repeatedly remarked upon by many who saw him for the first time. . . . While having a wide and varied knowledge in many branches of learning, the reserve and modesty with which he imparted knowledge were proverbial. . . .

“A serenity of manner, a sweet, almost coy way of imparting information, and a peculiar pursing of the lips when speaking of some quiet triumph of the Institute, or when the Institute, with its then limited resources, had anticipated other societies more richly endowed, are vividly remembered by those who knew him.

“He had seen the Institute grow from a few members, occupying a small hired room, possessing a few specimens and books and an empty treasury, to an organization of nearly four hundred members, occupying a large building of its own, with invested funds of over one hundred thousand dollars, and a library of sixty thousand volumes. In his view such a growth could not be arrested. . . . He looked ahead hopefully to the ultimate development of a large historical museum in which would be properly displayed the provincial and colonial records of the county, as well as records of the commercial history of this historic city.”

Professor Morse well expresses the sentiment of all the people of Salem and its vicinity when he says: —

“Dr. Wheatland’s identification with the Essex Institute is so complete that it is impossible to think of him and of the Institution separately. He was not only its father, but for many years he *was* the Institute, so far as being secretary, treasurer, editor of its journals, cabinet-keeper, and night-watchman could make him. . . . It is not too much to say that the Essex Institute, and indirectly its sister institution, the Peabody Academy of Science, may be looked upon as the results of Dr. Wheatland’s life-long devotion to the cause of science and history in this community.”

Mr. George D. Phippen, the first librarian of the Essex Institute, an able botanist and a “contemporary with Dr. Wheatland throughout his scientific life,” gave an account of the early days of the Doctor’s career, which one is tempted to quote in full. I must content myself with the following brief passages: —



"My first recollection of Henry Wheatland was in the summer of 1831, or possibly a year earlier, and I well remember the youthful cast of that same classic face that has ever since so strongly impressed all who have made his acquaintance. His figure was then striking, of erect yet slender build, with light brown hair falling in loose locks nearly to the collar of his coat. He had a rather weak voice, quiet manners; was guileless and attractive in all his ways. . . .

"Amongst the earliest effective work of the Natural History Society, after the commencement of its museum and library, were the fruit and flower exhibitions, which tended strongly towards the improvement of our gardens by the discrimination and cultivation of choice hardy fruits and flowers, in great variety. This demonstration of popular zeal has since reached both its climax and decline, and now exists only in the fancied reputation of the 'old-fashioned gardens of Salem.'

"The unique feature of 'field meetings,' in which the public as well as members of the Society participated, was not introduced until 1848. . . . For many years, however, prior to this date, small parties of the more devoted members of the Natural History Society were accustomed to make excursions in the neighboring woods and fields for botanical and other purposes of investigation. . . . These pleasant occasions will long remain in the memory of those who participated in them. We were young then, and Dr. Wheatland could outwalk us all, when we sought out, perhaps to some of us for the first time, localities where grew the Trilliums, Pyrolas, Arethusas, and the frosted Droseras, or, from the borders of brooks and ponds, the floating Utricularias, Brase-nias, or Dortman's Lobelia which tempted us and dared our acquisition of them by a partial bath. . . . Minerals interested some of us, while others collected fresh-water shells and rare ferns, as we invaded the haunts of the turtle and the newt.

"We were fresh and impressible then, and a new 'find' filled us with a thrill of enthusiasm and a healthful glow of spirits that gold, gems, or honors in later days would have failed to excite.

"Dr. Wheatland was primarily a botanist, and knew well the localities of our native plants, and an array of their flowers, accurately named, always embellished a corner of our frequent local exhibitions; but this pursuit he gradually relinquished to younger members. As a student of medicine he was fond of comparative anatomy, and here he obtained the title of Doctor, which has always with, perhaps, profounder meanings distinguished his name. On the proper shelves of the Institute are many specimens, particularly of the smaller animals, prepared by his own hands.

"He was interested in the study of conchology, and was fond of dredging the harbor for specimens. . . . He was at one time a devoted entomologist, and we have seen him throw the net for his brilliantly colored prey, which he immediately killed by a poisonous puncture

before pinning them into his collection box. He also knew well how to throw the net for the capture of young men, whom he infused with his own glowing spirit ; and their names, not a few, now adorn the scientific institutions of the land."

In regard to the "field meetings" which Mr. Phippen mentions, and which, in the particular form of free popular gatherings at various places for local research and an accompanying meeting for mutual discussion and information, were of Dr. Wheatland's suggestion, and owed their success to his peculiar genius for bringing people into co-operation, I quote the following most excellent description from a commemorative sermon by Rev. Edmund B. Willson at the North Church, Salem, on the Sunday following Dr. Wheatland's death : —

"I remember most distinctly how much I was impressed when I first became a citizen of this place by the aspect of things here, and how soon I observed this man's influence in much which interested me most. . . . Perhaps nothing filled me with greater admiration at that time than the — to me — novel and original institution called a 'field meeting' of the Essex Institute. I had never seen or heard of anything like it. . . . It seemed to me the most thoughtfully devised and simply managed method of extending and popularizing knowledge, of quickening mental life, of teaching the value of observation and of opening the book of nature to the study of the young and curious of all ages, of which I could conceive. Here came a little group of specialists to a country town of the county, few, perhaps none of them, very learned yet, even in their own department of science ; but, though rating themselves as students and collectors only, possessing so much knowledge that they could study the locality and discuss its history and its natural history intelligently. And this they did. After a morning spent in exploring the vicinity, divided into parties according to their tastes and special studies, and accompanied by any one who chose to join them in the walk and the search, they assembled at mid-day, and after partaking of the refreshments they had brought with them, they made their reports to an audience composed half of members of the Essex Institute and their friends and half of such dwellers in the vicinity, old and young, as were interested enough to attend.

"The more expert we will say in geology, mineralogy, and archaeology now gave their interpretation of the geological formations of that locality, finding on that little spot of the earth's crust the signs of how it had come to be, hill and stream, rock and soil, the processes of pre-historic times by which it was being made fit for man's habitation ;

with mineralogical specimens before them they gave interesting information of the order of rock-making, the succession of deposits, the agencies of sun, rain, and weather, and of internal and external temperatures, in shaping this bit of the world to its existing contour and consistency.

"The botanist followed in turn with talk of the forests, the flowers, the plants, the vegetable growths of that same territory ; made known the methods of identifying families and species of trees and plants, with leaf and bud and plant in hand to illustrate the lesson, all given in the simple and familiar conversational style.

"Then came the zoölogist, whether ornithologist, entomologist, ichthyologist or ophiologist, with their accounts of the animal life of the region, with specimens gathered from the waters, the woods and fields, to give flavor and color by illustration, and thus deeper impression to their discourse.

"From fossil implements, graveyard inscriptions, family and town records, the antiquarian and local historian brought interesting fragments of early settlement, family history, the developments and changes of industries, the statistics of schools and literary associations, of inventions and architecture, and whatever else would diversify, instruct, and entertain the meeting.

"Now, the most significant thing about all this was, to my mind, its simplicity and efficacy as an educational agency. . . . It opened eyes to see; it set minds to thinking. Without other text-book or teacher than this open book of nature, it became possible for each one to enter on a course of observation and experiment for himself by the roadside, in his dooryard, in the brooks, pastures, and woods of the homestead; everywhere were these most interesting and curious facts open to the discovery of one who had eyes and would use them, who had powers of thought and would think. The learned book would follow in time, the more perfect science would come later. Here was the start, the quickening of mind, the faculty and the thirst for observation and comparison set going, the foundation and beginning of all knowledge. And this far-seeing man perceived here the means of impulse and guidance, in line with all wise educational methods from Kindergarten to University."

At a field meeting at Manchester, July 18, 1856, Dr. Wheatland states that the first Essex Institute Field Meeting was held at North Danvers, in June, 1849, and that "the programme of this meeting was taken from the perusal of an account of the Berwickshire Naturalist Club in Scotland," which held similar meetings. The wide scope of subject, however, and the popular character of the Institute Field Meetings gave it an originality of its own, and it is doubtful

whether just such an institution has existed anywhere else.

Professor Morse mentions some singularly antithetic traits in Dr. Wheatland. He describes him as never enthusiastic, (meaning of course never demonstratively so) —

“yet he always kindled enthusiasm in others. While abstemious in the last degree, he never found fault with others for being otherwise. . . . While abstaining from tobacco and spirits in every form, he never interfered with the enjoyment of others in these matters. With unwavering devotion to the Institute, he never solicited aid for it or asked any one to become a member. . . . He dwelt in the past, and yet continually planned for the future.”

Mr. Henry M. Brooks, Secretary of the Essex Institute, and one of its first members, whose quick perception and skilful portrayal of the quaint and curious are well known through his numerous publications, says of him : —

“The Doctor was always very neat in his dress, which was quite simple and inexpensive. . . . From the time I first knew him he had but one fashion for his coat. It was always made with numerous and capacious pockets, in some of which he had a store of waste paper and twine, so that he was ready to wrap up anything that might be given to him for the Institute, and thus save some delay. He even carried the scissors to cut the twine. He was very careful to keep his feet warm and dry, and wore rubber overshoes well into the summer. Some one said, referring to this habit, ‘he left his rubbers off in July and put them on in August.’ Of an economical and saving turn, he used small scraps of paper and old envelopes to make memoranda on, when there was plenty of paper at his disposal, but his early habit of saving clung to him through life. He had an old lead pencil which looked as if it had been used for years and not mended often. But all this saving was not for his own benefit.”

I may add as another peculiarity that though he does not appear to have had any taste for music, poetry, or the fine arts in general, he spent liberally of his means for the encouragement of these branches of culture, and took great pains to add departments to the Essex Institute specially devoted to them.

In a letter of Oct. 17, 1893, from the well-known numismatist and antiquary, Matthew A. Stickney, since deceased, he says of the Doctor : —

“He was of a delicate frame, and with his student-like habit, would have been taken by a stranger for a member of the Society of Friends, as in fact he was, in his love for peace and harmony. . . . He did not excel in public speaking, but, like myself, was a collector. He disliked contention, in law, politics, or religion, and did not often converse on those subjects.” He was “a skilful planner of whatever he undertook, and in some respects resembled William Smith Shaw, one of the founders of the Boston Athenæum.”

In the letter from Mr. Palfray, already quoted, he further writes, after referring to his early relations with Dr. Wheatland:—

“Our intimacy in after years is a memory to be treasured. I am glad you recall the regularity of his visits to the dingy old editorial den on the corner of Essex and Central Streets, which your father, of blessed memory, who so frequently honored and illuminated it by his presence, was accustomed to regard as a local curiosity shop, one of the oddities of our old Puritan City as people are now fond of styling it, and occasionally introduced a stranger from abroad to view the unique spectacle. How many the nights which never failed at a certain hour to bring the Doctor and Caleb Cooke, too early lost to science, and, later, Kingsley or some other incipient scientist, for a social chat before retiring! Ah! those were ‘the days that are no more.’

“And then, too, our constant companionship in meetings, excursions, rambles, &c., under the auspices of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in many parts of the country,—the first at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1872,—how the scenes rise up before me, and how I wish I could do justice to them! But old age is merciless, and I forbear.

“Excuse the garrulousness and wandering of a dilapidated veteran in his 80th year, and believe me to be

“Very truly your Friend,

“CHAS. W. PALFRAY.”

It was a peculiar experience, conveying the strongest impression of Dr. Wheatland’s devotion and watchful zeal, to accompany him at the close of the evening on his regular round about the Essex Institute building where his treasures, the institute libraries and cabinets, were stored, and which seemed dearer to him than his own life. He would pass through or look into every room from cellar to attic, without light of any kind, to make sure that no lurking fire or other danger existed, and, all being found safe, would resign

the charge to the ordinary street watch. On the way home he would generally stop at "Palfray's," where the serene editor was always to be found surrounded by what seemed to the stranger an unfathomable abyss of confused books and papers, but which really was a collection most admirably arranged for his purpose, since he could place his hand at once upon whatever might be needed for the moment. Here the Doctor, aided by the hearty co-operation of the editor and free from interruption, prepared innumerable notices and accounts of meetings, exhibitions, excursions, etc., held or to be held, or wrote articles calculated to create a public interest in the ever varying enterprises of the Institute.

Professor Alpheus Hyatt, Curator of the Boston Society of Natural History, writes me, May 16, 1893, referring to Dr. Wheatland's unremitting self-sacrifice to the public interests of humanity and of science:—

"Our little community of scientific men were held together, perhaps, more largely by these qualities of his character than by any other single means. I well remember how completely he seemed to lay aside all personal interest for those of science when we first came to Salem; how studiously he avoided making himself prominent while helping every one to take that place for which he seemed best fitted, and finally cheerfully surrendered all the natural history collections, and the local influence of the administration of that division in the work of his beloved Essex Institute, to the newly formed Peabody Academy of Science."

He further pays a warm tribute to the many excellent traits so generally recognized in Dr. Wheatland, and concludes by expressing the "love and admiration" which he has for his memory.

The writings of Dr. Wheatland on scientific and historical subjects are scattered through the Essex Institute publications. Professor Morse, referring to his scientific communications, written and verbal, remarks that they indicate "a very general knowledge of natural science" and a special taste for zoölogy and comparative anatomy. His skill in dredging was well known to scientists. He is stated to have first taught the eminent zoölogist Stimpson the use of the dredge, as early as 1850.

Among many historical papers the following are particularly valuable:—

Historical Sketch of the Philosophical Library at Salem, with Notes, Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 175.

Materials for a Genealogy of the Higginson Family, vol. v. p. 33.

Extracts from Records of two Aqueduct Corporations in Salem and Danvers, vol. vi. p. 43.

Baptisms in the First Church in Salem, vol. vi. p. 227.

Baptisms by Rev. Benjamin Prescott, etc., Salem Middle Precinct, vol. vi. p. 258.

Address, as presiding officer, at the 250th Anniversary of the Landing of Governor Endicott at Salem, vol. xv. p. 114.

Baptisms at Salem Village Church, vol. xvi. p. 233.

[Some of the above are continued in subsequent numbers.]

Account of the Essex County Natural History Society, with Notes, at the Field Meeting at Topsfield, June 21, 1856, Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 24.

Report on the History and Progress of the Essex Institute at the Field Meeting at Manchester, July 18, 1856, vol. ii. p. 36.

Account of the Social and Philosophical Libraries of Salem, April 10, 1857, vol. ii. p. 140; continued, July 18, 1868, vol. vi. p. 33.

From the latter I quote the following admirable passage, showing in a succinct form the remarkable development of culture in the pursuit of history and science in Salem, and concluding with sentiments nowhere better exemplified than in the life and history of Dr. Wheatland himself.

“Some one hundred and ten years since,<sup>1</sup> at a meeting of the Monday Evening Club, composed of the leading spirits of that day, — the Brownes, Pickmans, Ornes, Higginsons, Lyndes, and Olivers, — the plan of organizing the Social Library was matured. Some twenty years later the Philosophical Library was called into existence by Holyoke, Prince, Barnard, and Orne of Salem, Willard and Fisher of Beverly, and Cutler of the Hamlet, now Hamilton. Thirty years pass away, and we behold Bowditch, Story, Pickering, Silsbee, and Putnam organizing the Athenæum, taking the two libraries above named as the basis of the new institution. Ten years later, White, Tucker, Saltonstall, King, and Ward are interested in the formation of an historical society to preserve the rich materials everywhere then abundant to elucidate the history of this section of our good old Commonwealth. Another decade of years pass, Peabody, Webb, Cole, Phillips, and Peirson are preparing courses of lectures on literature and science adapted to the popular mind, and hence arose that system of lectures which has been so prevalent throughout the country for the past thirty

<sup>1</sup> In 1758.

or forty years, and which has been a great auxiliary to the cause of general education. After the lapse of some three or four years, Nichols of Danvers, Oakes of Ipswich, Perry of Bradford, Page and Ives of Salem, laid the groundwork for a society of natural history to develop a taste for this study, and to extend researches into the various departments of nature.

"In this connection let us allude to the labors of Hodges, Lambert, Carpenter, Osgood, Crowninshield, Nichols, and others in organizing the East India Marine Society in 1799, and consequent thereupon the forming of the valuable Museum which has had a world-renowned reputation, and which, with the scientific collections of this Society, is being rearranged in the East India Marine Hall, recently obtained and fitted up with galleries and cases for their reception through the liberality of a son of Essex, whom governments and crowned heads delight to honor.

"Some of the above-named persons were interested in several of these institutions; thus, for instance, the venerable Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke was one of the original members of the Social Library in 1760, and at the time of his death, in 1829, was President of the Athenæum, and also of the Historical Society, having held that office in both of these institutions from their respective organizations, thus taking an active part in the institutions of this place for a period of seventy years.

"These have all passed away, leaving deep traces of their influence upon the institutions of this day, which are modifications of the preceding to conform to the wants and requirements of the age.

"Although much has been accomplished, yet we have only entered upon the threshold of the domain of science. More remains to be done before the objects which these pioneers have labored for can be said to be in a good working condition. This duty is never finished; the more an institution does, the wider the vista opens, and a greater amount of labor is found necessary to be done, increasing as it progresses in a geometrical ratio. It is a law of nature when any institution or organic object ceases to grow, decay commences, and a gradual dissolution follows.

"Let all who revere the memory of the departed, and desire to have accomplished, or at least greatly advanced, the objects that were dear to them, come forward and extend a helping hand to those who bear the heat and burden of the day. Though dead, they yet speak in the recollection of their zeal and energy in all worthy undertakings; truly, their good works follow them."

Of the seventy-two members of Dr. Wheatland's class at Harvard (1832), but seven survived him, and of these two



have since deceased, George T. Curtis and John S. Dwight. The latter, in a letter in answer to an invitation to attend the meeting of the Essex Institute in memory of Dr. Wheatland, writes thus of his classmate : —

“ When I recall his venerable and Dantesque profile, his uniform sweetness and simplicity of nature and of character, his sincere devotion and regard for truth in his favorite sciences, his fine powers of thought and observation, his friendly interest in all about him, and his zealous efforts to rescue from oblivion all precious bits of personal history ; and when I think how heartily he used to come to the reunions of our little remnant of a class, each time renewing the impression of these lovely traits of mind and character, I feel how much we have lost in these last years by his involuntary absence.”

One of the present survivors of that class, Dr. William W. Wellington, of Cambridgeport, writes me that Dr. Wheatland “ was regarded by all his classmates as a man of high moral excellence, a careful student, and a pleasant companion. He retained in after life the look of his younger days. . . . My recollections of Wheatland are all of the most pleasant character.”

The large mass of personal papers, correspondence, etc., which Dr. Wheatland had accumulated became somewhat disarranged, during the last years of his life, owing to their being necessarily consulted and handled by others in order to answer frequent inquiries. The preparation of this memoir has been delayed by the work, which seemed desirable, of first restoring these to something like the methodical arrangement in which it is evident he kept them, so long as he was able to attend to them personally.

Though he seldom kept copies of his own letters, he carefully kept the letters written to him, and they will be found a valuable source of information on many subjects.

His genealogical memoranda were kept in alphabetically arranged envelopes and in books, and make a large and valuable collection which will no doubt be very gladly consulted by genealogists.

There are also, besides many original manuscripts, minutes of record and memoranda relating to the organization and history of numerous local societies with notes as to the lives and families of their members.

Among his papers are diplomas and certificates from which the following partial list is made of the societies of which he became a member, resident, corresponding, or honorary.

Massachusetts Medical Society . . . . .	Aug. 30, 1837.
National Institute for the Promotion of Science, Washington, D. C. . . . .	Oct. 12, 1842.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston (a Fellow) . . . . .	Feb. 26, 1845.
New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston	March 7, 1846.
Concord (N. H.) Society of Natural History . . .	May 2, 1846.
American Statistical Association, Boston . . . .	Jan. 13, 1847.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston . . . .	Jan. 27, 1848.
La Real Sociedad Economica Filipina . . . . .	Aug. 29, 1848.
Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society . .	May 10, 1849.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison . .	March 7, 1854.
California Academy of Natural Sciences . . . .	April 7, 1856.
New York Historical Society . . . . .	Nov. 2, 1858.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia .	Nov. 12, 1860.
Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier . . . .	Feb., 1862.
Portland Society of Natural History . . . . .	Jan. 1, 1863.
Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences . . . . .	Feb. 3, 1865.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society .	May 8, 1869.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester . . .	April 30, 1871.
Massachusetts Horticultural Society, Boston . . .	June, 1871.
Humboldt Collegiate Association, Humboldt County, Iowa . . . . .	Sept. 1, 1871.
American Social Science Association . . . . .	Nov. 15, 1871.
Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence . . .	May 6, 1873.
Virginia Historical Society, Richmond . . . . .	June 2, 1880.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia	March 4, 1881.
Bunker Hill Monument Association . . . . .	June 17, 1887.

Besides the above, Dr. Wheatland became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its first meeting, in September, 1848, was chosen a Fellow in 1874, and was for many years one of its Auditors. He was an original trustee and Secretary of the Board of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, and an original trustee and Vice-President of the Peabody Academy of Science for the County of Essex. He was Superintendent, from November, 1837, to October, 1848, of the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society, an honorary member of

the Danvers Historical Society, President for a long time of the Salem Fraternity, and was a member of many other local associations of Salem and its neighborhood.

He was always actively interested in the schools of Salem, and did much service on committees and as a friend and co-operator with the teachers. In 1854 he was appointed a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education by Governor Washburn. In 1856 he became, by the appointment of Governor Gardner, a member of the board of the first Commission for the "Artificial Propagation of Fish." The other commissioners were Reuben A. Chapman, of Springfield, and Nathaniel E. Atwood, of Provincetown.

Dr. Wheatland resided during the last years of his life until near its close on Chestnut Street in Salem. A few months before his death, having been for two years helpless from paralysis though happily without suffering, he was removed to the house of his brother George on Essex Street, where he passed away peacefully on the morning of Monday, February 27, 1893, in his 82d year. Thus ended a long life, full of usefulness and of honor. To recount its history, however inadequately, has been a pleasing task to the writer, enabling him to do some service to the memory of one whom he regarded with an almost filial love and esteem.